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AFRICAN STUDIES

TRAVELS

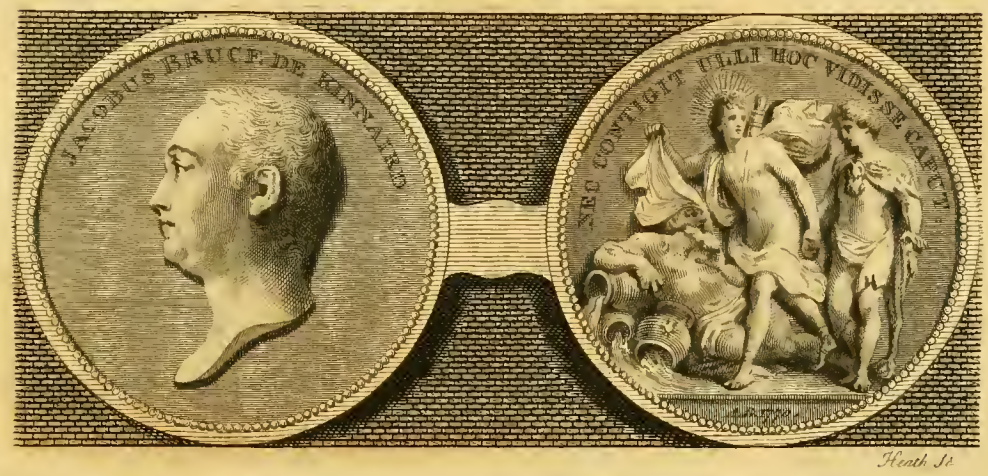
TO DISCOVER THE

SOURCE OF THE NILE,

In the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY JAMES BRUCE OF KINNAIRD, ESQ. F.R.S.



VOL. I.

Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus,
Ipsâ etiam pace sævum. TACIT. Lib. iv. Ann.

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M.DCC.XC.

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE ſtudy and knowledge of the Globe, for very natural and obvious reaſons, ſeem, in all ages, to have been the principal and favourite purſuit of great Princes; perhaps they were,

at certain periods, the very ſources of that greatneſs.

But as Pride, Ambition, and an immoderate thirſt of Conqueſt, were the motives of theſe reſearches, no real advantage could poſſibly accrue to mankind in general, from inquiries proceeding upon ſuch deformed and noxious principles.

In later times, which have been accounted more enlightened, ſtill a worſe motive ſucceeded to that of ambition; Avarice led the way in all expeditions, cruelty and oppreſſion followed: to diſcover and to deſtroy ſeemed to mean the ſame thing; and, what was ſtill more extraordinary, the innocent ſufferer was ſtiled the Barbarian; while the bloody, lawleſs invader, flattered himſelf with the name of Chriſtian.

With Your Majesty's reign, which, on many accounts, will for ever be a glorious æra in the annals of Britain, began the emancipation of diſcovery from the imputation of cruelty and crimes.

DEDICATION.

It was a golden age, which united humanity and ſcience, exempted men of liberal minds and education, employed in the nobleſt of all occupations, that of exploring the diſtant parts of the Globe, from being any longer degraded, and rated as little better than the Buccaneer, or pirate, becauſe they had, till then, in manners been nearly ſimilar.

It is well known, that an uncertainty had ſtill remained concerning the form, quantity, and conſiſtence of the earth; and this, in ſpite of all their abilities and improvement, met philoſophers in many material inveſtigations and delicate calculations. Univerſal benevolence, a diſtinguiſhing quality of Your Majesty, led You to take upon Yourſelf the direction of the mode, and furniſhing the means of removing theſe doubts and difficulties for the common benefit of mankind, who were all alike intereſted in them.

By Your Majesty's command, for theſe great purpoſes, Your fleets penetrated into unknown ſeas, fraught

fraught with ſubjects, equal, if not ſuperior, in courage, ſcience, and preparation, to any that ever before had navigated the ocean.

But they poſſeſſed other advantages, in which, beyond all compariſon, they excelled former diſcoverers. In place of hearts confuſed with fantaſtic notions of honour and emulation, which conſtantly led to bloodſhed, theirs were filled with the moſt beneficent principles, with that noble perſuaſion, the foundation of all charity, not that all men are equal, but that they are all brethren; and that being ſuperior to the ſavage in every acquirement, it was for that very reaſon their duty to ſet the example of mildneſs, compaſſion, and long-ſuffering to a fellow-creature, becauſe the weakeſt, and, by no fault of his own, the leaſt inſtructed, and always perfectly in their power.

Thus, without the uſual, and moſt unwarrantable exceſſes, the overturning ancient, hereditary kingdoms, without bloodſhed, or trampling under foot the laws of ſociety and hoſpitality, Your Majesty's

ſubjects,

ſubjects, braver, more powerful and inſtructed than thoſe deſtroyers of old, but far more juſt, generous, and humane, erected in the hearts of an unknown people, while making theſe diſcoveries, an empire founded on peace and love of the ſubject, perfectly conſiſtent with thoſe principles by which YOUR MAJESTY has always profeſſed to govern; more firm and durable than thoſe eſtabliſhed by bolts and chains, and all thoſe black devices of tyrants not even known by name, in Your happy and united, powerful and flouriſhing kingdoms.

WHILE theſe great objects were ſteadily conducting to the end which the capacity of thoſe employed, the juſtneſs of the meaſures on which they were planned, and the conſtant care and ſupport of the Public promiſed, there ſtill remained an expedition to be undertaken which had been long called for, by philoſophers of all nations, in vain.

FLEETS and armies were uſeleſs; even the power of Britain, with the utmoſt exertion, could afford no

protection there, the place was ſo unhappily cut off from the reſt of mankind, that even Your MAJESTY's name and virtues had never yet been known or heard of there.

THE ſituation of the country was barely known, no more: placed under the moſt inclement ſkies, in part ſurrounded by impenetrable foreſts, where, from the beginning, the beaſts had eſtabliſhed a ſovereignty uninterrupted by man, in part by vaſt deſerts of moving ſands, where nothing was to be found that had the breath of life, theſe terrible barriers incloſed men more bloody and ferocious than the beaſts themſelves, and more fatal to travellers than the ſands that encompaſſed them; and thus ſhut up, they had been long growing every day more barbarous, and defied, by rendering it dangerous, the curioſity of travellers of every nation.

ALTHOUGH the leaſt conſiderable of your MAJESTY's ſubjects, yet not the leaſt deſirous of proving my duty by promoting your MAJESTY's declared

plan

plan of diſcovery as much as the weak endeavours of a ſingle perſon could, unprotected, forlorn, and alone, or at times aſſociated to beggars and banditti, as they offered, I undertook this deſperate journey, and did not turn an ell out of my propoſed way till I had completed it: It was the firſt diſcovery attempted in Your MAJESTY's reign. From Egypt I penetrated into this country, through Arabia on one ſide, paſſing through melancholy and dreary deſerts, ventilated with poiſonous winds, and glowing with eternal ſun-beams, whoſe names are as unknown in geography as are thoſe of the antediluvian world. In the ſix years employed in this ſurvey I deſcribed a circumference whoſe greater axis comprehended twenty-two degrees of the meridian, in which dreadful circle was contained all that is terrible to the feelings, prejudicial to the health, or fatal to the life of man.

IN laying the account of theſe Travels at Your MAJESTY's feet, I humbly hope I have ſhewn to the world of what value the efforts of every individual of Your MAJESTY's ſubjects may be; that numbers

bers are not always neceſſary to the performance of great and brilliant actions, and that no difficulties or dangers are unſurmountable to a heart warm with affection and duty to his Sovereign, jealous of the honour of his maſter, and devoted to the glory of his country, now, under Your MAJESTY's wiſe, merciful, and juſt reign, deſervedly looked up to as Queen of Nations. I am,

SIR,

YOUR MAJESTY's

Moſt faithful Subject,

And moſt dutiful Servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

INTRODUCTION.

HOWEVER little the reader may be converſant with ancient hiſtories, in all probability he will know, or have heard this much in general, that the attempt to reach the Source of the Nile, the principal ſubject of this publication, from very early ages intereſted all ſcientific nations: Nor was this great object *feebly* proſecuted, as men, the firſt for wiſdom, for learning, and ſpirit (a moſt neceſſary qualification in this undertaking) very earneſtly intereſted themſelves about the diſcovery of the ſources of this famous river, till diſappointment followed diſappointment ſo faſt, and conſequences produced other conſequences ſo fatal, that the deſign was entirely given over, as having, upon the faireſt trials, appeared impracticable. Even conquerors at the head of immenſe armies, who had firſt diſcovered and then ſubdued great part of the world, were forced to lower their tone here, and dared ſcarcely to extend their advances toward this diſcovery, beyond the limits of bare wiſhes. At length, if it was not forgot, it was however totally abandoned from the cauſes above mentioned, and with it all further topographical inquiries in that quarter.

UPON the revival of learning and of the arts, the curioſity of mankind had returned with unabated vigour towards

this object, but all attempts had met with the ſame difficulties as before, till, in the beginning of his Majeſty's reign, the unconquerable ſpirit raiſed in this nation by a long and glorious war, did very naturally reſolve itſelf into a ſpirit of adventure and inquiry at the return of peace, one of the firſt-fruits of which was the diſcovery of theſe coy fountains *, till now concealed from the world in general.

The great danger and difficulties of this journey were well known, but it was likewiſe known that it had been completely performed without diſappointment or misfortune, that it had been attended with an apparatus of books and inſtruments, which ſeldom accompanies the travels of an individual; yet ſixteen years had elapſed without any account appearing, which ſeemed to mark an unuſual ſelf-denial, or an abſolute indifference towards the wiſhes of the public.

Men, according to their different genius and diſpoſitions, attempted by different ways to penetrate the cauſe of this ſilence. The candid, the learned, that ſpecies of men, in fine,

* This epithet given to the ſprings from which the Nile riſes, was borrowed from a very elegant Engliſh poem that appeared in Dr Maty's Review for May 1786. It was ſent to me by my friend Mr Barrington, to whom it was attributed, although from modeſty he diſclaims it. From whatever hand it comes, the poet is deſired to accept of my humble thanks. It was received with univerſal applauſe wherever it was circulated, and a conſiderable number of copies was printed at the deſire of the public. Accident ſeemed to have placed it in Dr Maty's book with peculiar propriety, by having joined it to a fragment of Arioſto, then firſt publiſhed, in the ſame Review. It has ſince been attributed to Mr Maſon.

ſine, for whom only it is worth while to travel or to write, ſuppoſing (perhaps with ſome degree of truth) that an undeſerved and unexpected neglect and want of patronage had been at leaſt part of the cauſe, adopted a manner, which, being the moſt liberal, they thought likely to ſucceed: They endeavoured to entice me by holding out a proſpect of a more generous diſpoſition in the minds of future miniſters, when I ſhould ſhew the claim I had upon them by having promoted the glory of the nation. Others, whom I mention only for the ſake of compariſon, below all notice on any other ground, attempted to ſucceed in this by anonymous letters and paragraphs in the newſpapers; and thereby abſurdly endeavoured to oblige me to publiſh an account of thoſe travels, which they affected at the ſame time to believe I had never performed.

But it is with very great pleaſure and readineſs I do now declare, that no fantaſtical or deformed motive, no peeviſh diſregard, much leſs contempt of the judgment of the world, had any part in the delay which has happened to this publication. I look upon their impatience to ſee this work as an earneſt of their approbation of it, and a very great honour done to me; and if I had ſtill any motive to defer ſubmitting theſe obſervations to their judgment, it could only be that I might employ that interval in poliſhing and making them more worthy of their peruſal. The candid and inſtructed public, the impartial and unprejudiced foreigner, are tribunals merit ſhould naturally appeal to; it is there it always has found ſure protection againſt the influence of cabals, and the virulent ſtrokes of malice, envy, and ignorance.

It is with a view to give every poſſible information to my reader, that in this introduction I lay before him the motives upon which theſe travels were undertaken, the order and manner in which they were executed, and ſome account of the work itſelf, as well of the matter as the diſtribution of it.

Every one will remember that period, ſo glorious to Britain, the latter end of the miniſtry of the late Earl of Chatham. I was then returned from a tour through the greateſt part of Europe, particularly through the whole of Spain and Portugal, between whom there then was an appearance of approaching war. I was about to retire to a ſmall patrimony I had received from my anceſtors, in order to embrace a life of ſtudy and reflection, nothing more active appearing then within my power, when chance threw me unexpectedly into a very ſhort and very deſultory converſation with Lord Chatham.

It was a few days after this that Mr Wood, then under-ſecretary of ſtate, my very zealous and ſincere friend, informed me that Lord Chatham intended to employ me upon a particular ſervice; that, however, I might go down for a few weeks to my own country to ſettle my affairs, but by all means to be ready upon a call. Nothing could be more flattering to me than ſuch an offer; when ſo young, to be thought worthy by Lord Chatham of any employment, was doubly a preferment. No time was loſt on my ſide; but, juſt after my receiving orders to return to London, his Lordſhip had gone to Bath, and reſigned his office.

This

This diſappointment, which was the more ſenſible to me, that it was the firſt I had met in public life, was promiſed to be made up to me by Lord Egremont and Mr George Grenville. The former had been long my friend, but unhappily he was then far gone in a lethargic indiſpoſition, which threatened, and did very ſoon put a period to his exiſtence. With Lord Egremont's death my expectations vaniſhed. Further particulars are unneceſſary, but I hope that at leaſt, in part, they remain in that breaſt where they naturally ought to be, and where I ſhall ever think, not to be forgotten, is to be rewarded.

Seven or eight months were paſt in an expenſive and fruitleſs attendance in London, when Lord Halifax was pleaſed, not only to propoſe, but to plan for me a journey of conſiderable importance, and which was to take up ſeveral years. His Lordſhip ſaid, that nothing could be more ignoble, than that, at ſuch a time of life, at the height of my reading, health, and activity, I ſhould, as it were, turn peaſant, and voluntarily bury myſelf in obſcurity and idleneſs; that though war was now drawing faſt to an end, full as honourable a competition remained among men of ſpirit, which ſhould acquit themſelves beſt in the dangerous line of uſeful adventure and diſcovery. "He obſerved, that the coaſt of Barbary, which might be ſaid to be juſt at our door, was as yet but partially explored by Dr Shaw, who had only illuſtrated (very judiciouſly indeed) the geographical labours of Sanſon*; that neither Dr Shaw nor Sanſon

* He was long a ſlave to the Bey of Conſtantina, and appears to have been a man of capacity.

ſon had been, or had pretended to be, capable of giving the public any detail of the large and magnificent remains of ruined architecture which they both vouch to have ſeen in great quantities, and of exquiſite elegance and perfection, all over the country. Such had not been their ſtudy, yet ſuch was really the taſte that was required in the preſent times. He wiſhed therefore that I ſhould be the firſt, in the reign juſt now beginning, to ſet an example of making large additions to the royal collection, and he pledged himſelf to be my ſupporter and patron, and to make good to me, upon this additional merit, the promiſes which had been held forth to me by former miniſters for other ſervices.

The diſcovery of the Source of the Nile was alſo a ſubject of theſe converſations, but it was always mentioned to me with a kind of diffidence, as if to be expected from a more experienced traveller. Whether this was but another way of exciting me to the attempt I ſhall not ſay; but my heart in that inſtant did me juſtice to ſuggeſt, that this, too, was either to be atchieved by me, or to remain, as it had done for theſe laſt two thouſand years, a defiance to all travellers, and an opprobrium to geography.

Fortune ſeemed to enter into this ſcheme. At the very inſtant, Mr Aſpinwall, very cruelly and ignominiouſly treated by the Dey of Algiers, had reſigned his conſulſhip, and Mr Ford, a merchant, formerly the Dey's acquaintance, was named in his place. Mr Ford was appointed, and dying a few days after, the conſulſhip became vacant. Lord Halifax preſſed me to accept of this, as containing all ſort of conveniencies for making the propoſed expedition.

This favourable event finally determined me. I had all my life applied unweariedly, perhaps with more love than talent, to drawing, the practice of mathematics, and especially that part neceſſary to aſtronomy. The tranſit of Venus was at hand. It was certainly known that it would be viſible once at Algiers, and there was great reaſon to expect it might be twice. I had furniſhed myſelf with a large apparatus of inſtruments, the completeſt of their kind for the obſervation. In the choice of theſe I had been aſſiſted by my friend Admiral Campbell, and Mr Ruſſel ſecretary to the Turkey Company; every other neceſſary had been provided in proportion. It was a pleaſure now to know that it was not from a rock or a wood, but from my own houſe at Algiers, I could deliberately take meaſures to place myſelf in the liſt of men of ſcience of all nations, who were then preparing for the ſame ſcientific purpoſe.

Thus prepared, I ſet out for Italy, through France; and though it was in time of war, and ſome ſtrong objections had been made to particular paſſports ſolicited by our government from the French ſecretary of ſtate, Monſieur de Choiſeul moſt obligingly waved all ſuch exceptions with regard to me, and moſt politely aſſured me, in a letter accompanying my paſſport, that thoſe difficulties did not in any ſhape regard me, but that I was perfectly at liberty to paſs through, or remain in France, with thoſe that accompanied me, without limiting their number, as ſhort or as long a time as ſhould be agreeable to me.

On my arrival at Rome I received orders to proceed to Naples, there to await his Majeſty's further commands. Sir Charles Saunders, then with a fleet before Cadiz, had orders

to

to viſit Malta before he returned to England. It was ſaid, that the grand-maſter of that Order had behaved ſo improperly to Mr Hervey (afterwards Lord Briſtol) in the beginning of the war, and ſo partially and unjuſtly between the two nations during the courſe of it, that an explanation on our part was become neceſſary. The grand-maſter no ſooner heard of my arrival at Naples, than gueſſing the errand, he ſent off Cavalier Mazzini to London, where he at once made his peace and his compliments to his Majeſty upon his acceſſion to the throne.

NOTHING remained now but to take poſſeſſion of my conſulſhip. I returned without loſs of time to Rome, and thence to Leghorn, where, having embarked on board the Montreal man of war, I proceeded to Algiers.

WHILE at Naples, I received from ſlaves, redeemed from the province of Conſtantina, accounts of magnificent ruins they had ſeen while traverſing that country in the camp with their maſter the Bey. I ſaw the abſolute neceſſity there was for aſſiſtance, without which it was impoſſible for any one man, however diligent and qualified, to do any thing but bewilder himſelf. All my endeavours, however, had hitherto been unſucceſsful to perſuade any Italian to put himſelf wilfully into the hands of a people conſtantly looked upon by them in no better light than pirates.

WHILE I was providing myſelf with inſtruments at London, I thought of one, which, though in a very ſmall form and imperfect ſtate, had been of great entertainment and uſe to me in former travels; this is called a Camera Obſcura, the idea of which I had firſt taken from the Spectacle

de la Nature of the Abbé Vertot. But the preſent one was conſtructed upon my own principles; I intruſted the execution of the glaſſes to Meſſrs Nairne and Blunt, Mathematical inſtrument-makers oppoſite to the Exchange, whom I had uſually employed upon ſuch occaſions, and with whoſe capacity and fidelity I had, after frequent trials, the greateſt reaſon to be ſatisfied.

This, when finiſhed, became a large and expenſive inſtrument; but being ſeparated into two pieces, the top and bottom, and folding compactly with hinges, was neither heavy, cumberſome, nor inconvenient, and the charge incurred by the additions and alterations was conſiderably more than compenſated by the advantages which accrued from them. Its body was an hexagon of ſix-feet diameter, with a conical top; in this, as in a ſummer-houſe, the draughtſman ſat unſeen, and performed his drawing. There is now, I ſee, one carried as a ſhow about the ſtreets, of nearly the ſame dimenſions, called a Delineator, made on the ſame principles, and ſeems to be an exact imitation of mine.

By means of this inſtrument, a perſon of but a moderate ſkill in drawing, but habituated to the effect of it, could do more work, and in a better taſte, whilſt executing views of ruined architecture, in one hour, than the readieſt draughtſman, ſo unaſſiſted, could do in ſeven; for, with proper care, patience, and attention, not only the elevation, and every part of it, is taken with the utmoſt truth and juſteſt proportion, but the light and ſhade, the actual breaches as they ſtand, vignettes, or little ornamental ſhrubs, which generally hang from and adorn the projections and edges of the ſeveral members, are finely expreſſed, and beautiful leſſons given,

how to tranſport them with effect to any part where they appear to be wanting.

Another greater and ineſtimable advantage is, that all landſcapes, and views of the country, which conſtitute the back-ground of the picture, are real, and in the reality ſhew, very ſtrikingly indeed, in ſuch a country as Africa, abounding in pictureſque ſcenes, how much nature is ſuperior to the creation of the warmeſt genius or imagination. Momentary maſſes of clouds, eſpecially the heavier ones, of ſtormy ſkies, will be fixed by two or three unſtudied ſtrokes of a pencil; and figures and dreſs, in the moſt agreeable attitudes and folds, leave traces that a very ordinary hand might ſpeedily make his own, or, what is ſtill better, enable him with theſe elements to uſe the aſſiſtance of the beſt artiſt he can find in every line of painting, and, by the help of theſe, give to each the utmoſt poſſible perfection; a practice which I have conſtantly preferred and followed with ſucceſs.

It is true, this inſtrument has a fundamental defect in the laws of optics; but this is obvious, and known unavoidably to exiſt; and he muſt be a very ordinary genius indeed, and very lame, both in theory and practice, that cannot apply the neceſſary correction, with little trouble, and in a very ſhort time.

I was ſo well pleaſed with the firſt trial of this inſtrument at Julia Cæſarea, now Sherſhell, about 60 miles from Algiers, that I commiſſioned a ſmaller one from Italy, which, though negligently and ignorantly made, did me this good ſervice, that it enabled me to ſave my larger and more perfect

perfect one, in my unfortunate ſhipwreck at Bengazi *, the ancient Berenice, on the ſhore of Cyrenaicum; and this was of infinite ſervice to me in my journey to Palmyra.

Thus far a great part of my wants were well ſupplied, at leaſt ſuch as could be foreſeen, but I ſtill laboured under many. Beſides that ſingle province of ruined architecture, there remained ſeveral others of equal importance to the public. The natural hiſtory of the country, the manners and languages of the inhabitants, the hiſtory of the heavens, by a conſtant obſervation of, and attention to which, a uſeful and intelligible map of the country could be obtained, were objects of the utmoſt conſequence.

Packing and repacking, mounting and rectifying theſe inſtruments alone, beſides the attention and time neceſſary in uſing them, required what would have occupied one man, if they had been continual, which they luckily were not, and he ſufficiently inſtructed. I therefore endeavoured to procure ſuch a number of aſſiſtants, that ſhould each bear his ſhare in theſe ſeveral departments; not one only, but three or four if poſſible. I was now engaged, and part of my pride was to ſhew, how eaſy a thing it was to diſappoint the idle prophecies of the ignorant, that this expedition would be ſpent in pleaſure, without any profit to the public. I wrote to ſeveral correſpondents, Mr Lumiſden, Mr Strange, Mr Byers, and others in different parts of Italy, acquainting them of my ſituation, and begging their aſſiſtance. Theſe gentlemen kindly uſed their utmoſt endeavours, but in vain.

* This will be explained afterwards.

It is true, Mr Chalgrin, a young French ſtudent in architecture, accepted the propoſal, and ſent a neat ſpecimen of rectilineal architecture. Even this gentleman might have been of ſome uſe, but his heart failed him; he would have wiſhed the credit of the undertaking, without the fatigues of the journey. At laſt Mr Lumiſden, by accident, heard of a young man who was then ſtudying architecture at Rome, a native of Bologna, whoſe name was Luigi Balugani. I can appeal to Mr Lumiſden, now in England, as to the extent of this perſon's practice and knowledge, and that he knew very little when firſt ſent to me. In the twenty months which he ſtaid with me at Algiers, by aſſiduous application to proper ſubjects under my inſtruction, he became a very conſiderable help to me, and was the only one that ever I made uſe of, or that attended me for a moment, or ever touched one repreſentation of architecture in any part of my journey. He contracted an incurable diſtemper in Paleſtine, and died after a long ſickneſs, ſoon after I entered Ethiopia, after having ſuffered conſtant ill-health from the time he left Sidon.

While travelling in Spain, it was a thought which frequently ſuggeſted itſelf to me, how little informed the world yet was in the hiſtory of that kingdom and monarchy. The Mooriſh part in particular, when it was moſt celebrated for riches and for ſcience, was ſcarcely known but from ſome romances or novels. It ſeemed an undertaking worthy of a man of letters to reſcue this period from the oblivion or neglect under which it laboured. Materials were not wanting for this, as a conſiderable number of books remained in a neglected and almoſt unknown language, the Arabic. I endeavoured to find acceſs to ſome of

of thoſe Arabian manuſcripts, an immenſe collection of which were every day periſhing in the duſt of the eſcurial, and was indulged with ſeveral converſations of Mr Wall, then miniſter, every one of which convinced me, that the objections to what I wiſhed were founded ſo ſtrongly in prejudice, that it was not even in his power to remove them.

All my ſucceſs in Europe terminated in the acquiſition of thoſe few printed Arabic books that I had found in Holland, and theſe were rather biographers than general hiſtorians, and contained little in point of general information. The ſtudy of theſe, however, and of Maracci's Koran, had made me a very tolerable Arab; a great field was opening before me in Africa to complete a collection of manuſcripts, an opportunity which I did not neglect.

After a year ſpent at Algiers, conſtant converſation with the natives whilſt abroad, and with my manuſcripts within doors, had qualified me to appear in any part of the continent without the help of an interpreter. Ludolf* had aſſured his readers, that the knowledge of any oriental language would ſoon enable them to acquire the Ethiopic, and I needed only the ſame number of books to have made my knowledge of that language go hand in hand with my attainments in the Arabic. My immediate proſpect of ſetting out on my journey to the inland parts of Africa, had made me double my diligence; night and day there was no relaxation from theſe ſtudies, although the acquiring any ſingle

* Ludolf, lib. i. cap. 15.

ſingle language had never been with me either an object of time or difficulty.

At this inſtant, inſtead of obtaining the liberty I had ſolicited to depart, orders arrived from the king to expect his further commands at Algiers, and not to think of ſtirring from thence, till a diſpute about paſſports was ſettled, in which I certainly had no concern, further than as it regarded me as his Majeſty's actual ſervant, for it had originated entirely from the neglect of the former conſul's letters directed to the ſecretary of ſtate at home, before my coming to Algiers.

The iſland of Minorca had been taken by the French; and when the fort of St Philip ſurrendered by an article common to all capitulations, it was ſtipulated, that all papers found in the fort were to be delivered to the captors. It happened that among theſe was a number of blank Mediterranean paſſes, which fell therefore into the hands of the French, and the blanks were filled up by the French governor and ſecretary, who very naturally wiſhed to embroil us with the Barbary ſtates, it being then the time of war with France. They were ſold to Spaniards, Neapolitans, and other enemies of the Barbary regencies. The check* (the only proof that theſe pirates have of the veſſels being a friend) agreed perfectly with the paſſport filled up by the French governor, but the captor ſeeing that the crew of theſe veſſels were dark-coloured, wore muſtachoes, and ſpoke no Engliſh, carried the veſſel to Algiers, where the Britiſh conſul detected

* This is a running figure cut through the middle like the check of a bank note.

ed the fraud, and was under the disagreeable necessity of surrendering so many Christians into slavery in the hands of their enemies.

One or two successful discoveries of this kind made the hungry pirates believe that the passport of every vessel they met with, even those of Gibraltar, were false in themselves, and issued to protect their enemies. Violent commotions were excited amongst the soldiery, abetted under hand by several of the neutral consuls there. By every occasion I had wrote home, but in vain, and the Dey could never be persuaded of this, as no answer arrived. Government was occupied with winding up matters at the end of a war, and this neglect of my letters often brought me into great danger. At last a temporary remedy was found, whether it originated from home, or whether it was invented by the governor of Mahon and Gibraltar, was never communicated to me, but a surer and more effectual way of having all the nation at Algiers massacred could certainly not have been hit upon.

Square pieces of common paper, about the size of a quarter-sheet, were sealed with the arms of the governor of Mahon, sometimes with red, sometimes with black wax, as the family circumstances of that officer required. These were signed by his signature, countersigned by that of his secretary, and contained nothing more than a bare and simple declaration, that the vessel, the bearer of it, was British property. These papers were called *Passavants*. The cruiser, uninstructed in this when he boarded a vessel, asked for his Mediterranean pass. The master answered, He had none, he had only a passavant, and shewed the paper, which having no

check, the cruiſer brought him and his veſſel as a good prize into Algiers. Upon my claiming them, as was my duty, I was immediately called before the Dey and divan, and had it not been from perſonal regard the Turks always ſhewed me, I ſhould not have eſcaped the inſults of the ſoldiery in my way to the palace. The Dey aſked me, upon my word as a Chriſtian and an Engliſhman, whether theſe written paſſes were according to treaty, or whether the word *paſſavant* was to be found in any of our treaties with the Mooriſh regencies? All equivocation was uſeleſs. I anſwered, That theſe paſſes were not according to treaty; that the word *paſſavant* was not in any treaty I knew of with any of the Barbary ſtates; that it was a meaſure neceſſity had created, by Minorca's falling into the hands of the French, which had never before been the caſe, but that the remedy would be found as ſoon as the greater buſineſs of ſettling the general peace gave the Britiſh miniſtry time to breathe. Upon this the Dey, holding ſeveral *paſſavants* in his hand, anſwered, with great emotion, in theſe memorable terms, "The Britiſh government know that we can neither read nor write, no not even our own language; we are ignorant ſoldiers and ſailors, robbers if you will, though we do not wiſh to rob you; but war is our trade, and we live by that only. Tell me how my cruiſers are to know that all theſe different writings and ſeals are Governor Moſtyn's, or Governor Johnſton's, and not the Duke of Medina Sidonia's, or Barcelot's, captain of the king of Spain's cruiſers?" It was impoſſible to anſwer a queſtion ſo ſimple and ſo direct. I touched then the inſtant of being cut to pieces by the ſoldiery, or of having the whole Britiſh Mediterranean trade carried into the Barbary ports. The candid and open manner in which I had ſpoken, the regard and eſteem the Dey

always had ſhewed me, and ſome other common methods with the members of the regency, ſtaved off the dangerous moment, and were the means of procuring time. Admiralty paſſes at laſt came out, and the matter was happily adjuſted; but it was an affair the leaſt pleaſing and the leaſt profitable, and one of the moſt dangerous in which I was ever engaged.

All this diſagreeable interval I had given to ſtudy, and making myſelf familiar with every thing that could be neceſſary to me in my intended journey. The king's ſurgeon at Algiers, Mr Ball, a man of conſiderable merit in his profeſſion, and who lived in my family, had obtained leave to return home. Before I was deprived of this aſſiſtance, I had made a point of drawing from it all the advantages poſſible for my future travels. Mr Ball did not grudge his time or pains in the inſtruction he gave me. I had made myſelf maſter of the art of bleeding, which I found conſiſted only in a little attention, and in overcoming that diffidence which the ignorance how the parts lie occaſions. Mr Ball had ſhewn me the manner of applying ſeveral ſorts of bandages, and gave me an idea of dreſſing ſome kinds of ſores and wounds. Frequent and very uſeful leſſons, which I alſo received from my friend Doctor Ruſſel at Aleppo, contributed greatly to improve me afterwards in the knowledge of phyſic and ſurgery. I had a ſmall cheſt of the moſt efficacious medicines, a diſpenſary to teach me to compound others that were needful, and ſome ſhort treatiſes upon the acute diſeaſes of ſeveral countries within the tropics. Thus inſtructed, I flatter myſelf, no offence I hope, I did not occaſion a greater mortality among the Mahometans and Pagans abroad, than may be attributed to

ſome of my brother phyſicians among their fellow-Chriſtians at home.

The rev. Mr Tonyn, the king's chaplain at Algiers, was abſent upon leave before I arrived in that regency. The Proteſtant ſhipmaſters who came into the port, and had need of ſpiritual aſſiſtance, found here a blank that was not eaſily filled up; I ſhould therefore have been obliged to take upon myſelf the diſagreeable office of burying the dead, and the more chearful, though more troubleſome one, of marrying and baptizing the living; matters that were entirely out of my way, but to which the Roman Catholic clergy would contribute no aſſiſtance.

There was a Greek prieſt, a native of Cyprus, a very venerable man, paſt ſeventy years of age, who had attached himſelf to me from my firſt arrival in Algiers. This man was of a very ſocial and chearful temper, and had, beſides, a more than ordinary knowledge of his own language. I had taken him to my houſe as my chaplain, read Greek with him daily, and ſpoke it at times when I could receive his correction and inſtruction. It was not that I, at this time of day, needed to learn Greek, I had long underſtood that language perfectly; what I wanted was the pronunciation, and reading by accent, of which the generality of Engliſh ſcholars are perfectly ignorant, and to which it is owing that they apprehend the Greek ſpoken and written in the Archipelago is materially different from that language which we read in books, and which a few weeks converſation in the iſlands will teach them it is not. I had in this, at that time, no other view than mere convenience during my paſſage through the Archipelago, which

which I intended to viſit, without any deſign of continuing or ſtudying there: But the reader will afterwards ſee of what very material ſervice this acquaintance was to me, ſo very eſſential, indeed, that it contributed more to the ſucceſs of my views in Abyſſinia than any other help that I obtained throughout the whole of it. This man's name was Padre Chriſtophoro, or Father Chriſtopher. At my leaving Algiers, finding himſelf leſs conveniently ſituated, he went to Egypt, to Cairo, where he was promoted to be ſecond in rank under Mark, patriarch of Alexandria, where I afterwards found him.

Business of a private nature had at this time obliged me to preſent myſelf at Mahon, a gentleman having promiſed to meet me there; I therefore ſailed from Algiers, having taken leave of the Dey, who furniſhed me with every letter that I aſked, with ſtrong and peremptory orders to all the officers of his own dominions, preſſing recommendatory ones to the Bey of Tunis and Tripoli, ſtates independent, indeed, of the Dey of Algiers, but over which the circumſtances of the times had given him a conſiderable influence.

The violent diſputes about the paſſports had rather raiſed than lowered me in his eſteem. The letters were given with the beſt grace poſſible, and the orders contained in them were executed moſt exactly in all points during my whole ſtay in Barbary. Being diſappointed in the meeting I looked for at Mahon, I remained three days in Quarantine Iſland, though General Townſend, then deputy-governor, by every civility and attention in his power, ſtrove to induce

me to come on ſhore, that he might have an opportunity of ſhewing me ſtill more attention and politeneſs.

My mind being now full of more agreeable ideas than what had for ſome time paſt occupied it, I ſailed in a ſmall veſſel from Port Mahon, and, having a fair wind, in a ſhort time made the coaſt of Africa, at a cape, or headland, called Ras el Hamra *, and landed at Bona, a conſiderable town, the ancient Aphrodiſium †, built from the ruins of Hippo Regius ‡, from which it is only two miles diſtant. It ſtands on a large plain, part of which ſeems to have been once overflowed by the ſea. Its trade conſiſts now in the exportation of wheat, when, in plentiful years, that trade is permitted by the government of Algiers. I had a delightful voyage cloſe down the coaſt, and paſſed the ſmall iſland Tabarca §, lately a fortification of the Genoeſe, now in the hands of the regency of Tunis, who took it by ſurpriſe, and made all the inhabitants ſlaves. The iſland is famous for a coral fiſhery, and along the coaſt are immenſe foreſts of large beautiful oaks, more than ſufficient to ſupply the neceſſities of all the maritime powers in the Levant, if the quality of the wood be but equal to the ſize and beauty of the tree.

From Tabarca I ſailed and anchored at Biſerta, the Hippozaritus ‖ of antiquity, and thence went to pay a viſit to Utica, out of reſpect to the memory of Cato, without having ſanguine expectations of meeting any thing remarkable there,

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* Hippo. Reg. from Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 109. † Hippo. Reg. id. ib.
‡ Aphrodiſium. id. ib. § Thabarca, id. ib. ‖ Plin. Ep. xxxiii. l, 9.

there, and accordingly I found nothing memorable but the name. It may be ſaid nothing remains of Utica but a heap of rubbiſh and of ſmall ſtones; without the city the trenches and approaches of the ancient beſiegers are ſtill very perfect.

After doubling Cape Carthage I anchored before the fortreſs of the Goletta, a place now of no ſtrength, notwithſtanding the figure it made at the time of the expedition of Charles V. Rowing along the bay, between the Cape and this anchorage, I ſaw ſeveral buildings and columns ſtill ſtanding under water, by which it appeared that old Carthage had owed part of its deſtruction to the ſea, and hence likewiſe may be inferred the abſurdity of any attempt to repreſent the ſite of ancient Carthage upon paper. It has been, beſides, at leaſt ten times deſtroyed, ſo that the ſtations, where its firſt citizens fell fighting for their liberty, are covered deep in rubbiſh, far from being trodden upon by thoſe unworthy ſlaves who now are its maſters.

Tunis * is twelve miles diſtant from this: It is a large and flouriſhing city. The people are more civilized than in Algiers, and the government milder, but the climate is very far from being ſo good. Tunis is low, hot, and damp, and deſtitute of good water, with which Algiers is ſupplied from a thouſand ſprings.

I delivered my letters from the Bey, and obtained permiſſion to viſit the country in whatever direction I ſhould pleaſe.

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* Liv. Epit. xxx. l. 9.

pleaſe. I took with me a French renegado, of the name of Oſman, recommended to me by Monſieur Bartheleny de Saizieux, conſul of France to that ſtate; a gentleman whoſe converſation and friendſhip furniſh me ſtill with ſome of the moſt agreeable reflections that reſult from my travels. With Oſman I took ten ſpahi, or horſe-ſoldiers, well armed with firelocks and piſtols, excellent horſemen, and, as far as I could ever diſcern upon the few occaſions that preſented, as eminent for cowardice, at leaſt, as they were for horſemanſhip. This was not the caſe with Oſman, who was very brave, but he needed a ſharp look-out, that he did not often embroil us where there was acceſs to women or to wine.

One of the moſt agreeable favours I received was from a lady of the Bey, who furniſhed me with a two-wheeled covered cart, exactly like thoſe of the bakers in England. In this I ſecured my quadrant and teleſcope from the weather, and at times put likewiſe ſome of the feebleſt of my attendants. Beſides theſe I had ten ſervants, two of whom were Iriſh, who having deſerted from the Spaniſh regiments in Oran, and being Britiſh born, though ſlaves, as being Spaniſh ſoldiers, were given to me at parting by the Dey of Algiers.

The coaſt along which I had ſailed was part of Numidia and Africa Proper, and there I met with no ruins. I reſolved now to diſtribute my inland journey through the kingdom of Algiers and Tunis. In order to comprehend the whole, I firſt ſet out along the river Majerda, through a country perfectly cultivated and inhabited by people under

the controul of government, this river was the ancient Bagrada*.

After paſſing a triumphal arch of bad taſte at Baſil-bab, I came the next day to Thugga†, perhaps more properly called Tucca, and by the inhabitants Dugga. The reader in this part ſhould have Doctor Shaw's Work before him, my map of the journey not being yet publiſhed; and, indeed, after Shaw's, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to thoſe who need only an itinerary, as, beſides his own obſervations, he had for baſis thoſe of Sanſon.

I found at Dugga a large ſcene of ruins, among which one building was eaſily diſtinguiſhable. It was a large temple of the Corinthian order, all of Parian marble, the columns fluted, the cornice highly ornamented in the very beſt ſtyle of ſculpture. In the tympanum is an eagle flying to heaven, with a human figure upon his back, which, by the many inſcriptions that are ſtill remaining, ſeems to be intended for that of Trajan, and the apotheoſis of that emperor to be the ſubject, the temple having been erected by Adrian to that prince, his benefactor and predeceſſor. I ſpent fifteen days upon the architecture of this temple without feeling the ſmalleſt diſguſt, or forming a wiſh to finiſh it; it is, with all its parts, ſtill unpubliſhed in my collection. Theſe beautiful and magnificent remains of ancient taſte and greatneſs, ſo eaſily reached in perfect ſafety, by a ride along the Bagrada, full as pleaſant and as ſafe as along the Thames between

* Strabo lib xvii. p. 1189. It ſignifies the river of Cows, or Kine. P. Mela lib. i. cap. 7. Sil. It. lib. vi. l. 140. † Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. Procop. lib. vi. cap. 5. de Ædif.

between London and Oxford, were at Tunis totally unknown. Doctor Shaw has given the ſituation of the place, without ſaying one word about any thing curious it contains.

From Dugga I continued the upper road to Keff *, formerly called Sicca Venerea, or Venerea ad Siccam, through the pleaſant plains inhabited by the Welled Yagoube. I then proceeded to Hydra, the Thunodrunum † of the ancients. This is a frontier place between the two kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, as Keff is alſo. It is inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, whoſe chief is a marabout, or ſaint; they are called Welled Sidi Boogannim, the "ſons of the father of flocks."

These Arabs are immenſely rich, paying no tribute either to Tunis or Algiers. The pretence for this exemption is a very ſingular one. By the inſtitution of their founder, they are obliged to live upon lions fleſh for their daily food, as far as they can procure it; with this they ſtrictly comply, and, in conſideration of the utility of this their vow, they are not taxed, like the other Arabs, with payments to the ſtate. The conſequence of this life is, that they are excellent and well-armed horſemen, exceedingly bold and undaunted hunters. It is generally imagined, indeed, that theſe conſiderations, and that of their ſituation on the frontier, have as much influence in procuring them exemption from taxes, as the utility of their vow.

* Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 6. § 15. † Ptol. Geog. lib. iv.

There is at Thunodrunum a triumphal arch, which Dr Shaw thinks is more remarkable for its ſize than for its taſte or execution; but the ſize is not extraordinary; on the other hand, both taſte and execution are admirable. It is, with all its parts, in the King's collection, and, taking the whole together, is one of the moſt beautiful landſcapes in black and white now exiſting. The diſtance, as well as the fore-ground, are both from nature, and exceedingly well calculated for ſuch repreſentation.

Before Dr Shaw's travels firſt acquired the celebrity they have maintained ever ſince, there was a circumſtance that very nearly ruined their credit. He had ventured to ſay in converſation, that theſe Welled Sidi Boogannim were eaters of lions, and this was conſidered at Oxford, the univerſity where he had ſtudied, as a traveller's licenſe on the part of the Doctor. They took it as a ſubverſion of the natural order of things, that a man ſhould eat a lion, when it had long paſſed as almoſt the peculiar province of the lion to eat man. The Doctor ſlinched under the ſagacity and ſeverity of this criticiſm; he could not deny that the Welled Sidi Boogannim did eat lions, as he had repeatedly ſaid; but he had not yet publiſhed his travels, and therefore left it out of his narrative, and only hinted at it after in his appendix.

With all ſubmiſſion to that learned univerſity, I will not diſpute the lion's title to eating men; but, ſince it is not founded upon patent, no conſideration will make me ſtifle the merit of Welled Sidi Boogannim, who have turned the chace upon the enemy. It is an hiſtorical fact; and I will not ſuffer the public to be miſled by a miſrepreſentation

of it; on the contrary, I do aver, in the face of theſe fantaſtic prejudices, that I have ate the fleſh of lions, that is, part of three lions, in the tents of Welled Sidi Boogannim. The firſt was a he-lion, lean, tough, ſmelling violently of muſk, and had the taſte which, I imagine, old horſe-fleſh would have. The ſecond was a lioneſs, which they ſaid had that year been barren. She had a conſiderable quantity of fat within her; and, had it not been for the muſky ſmell that the fleſh had, though in a leſſer degree than the former, and for our fooliſh prejudices againſt it, the meat, when broiled, would not have been very bad. The third was a a lion's whelp, ſix or ſeven months old; it taſted, upon the whole, the worſt of the three. I confeſs I have no deſire of being again ſerved with ſuch a morſel; but the Arabs, a brutiſh and ignorant folk, will, I fear, notwithſtanding the diſbelief of the univerſity of Oxford, continue to eat lions as long as they exiſt.

From Hydra I paſſed to the ancient Tipaſa *, another Roman colony, going by the ſame name to this day. Here is a moſt extenſive ſcene of ruins. There is a large temple, and a four-faced triumphal arch of the Corinthian order, in the very beſt taſte; both of which are now in the collection of the King.

I here croſſed the river Myſkianah, which falls into the Bagrada, and continuing through one of the moſt beautiful and beſt-cultivated countries in the world, I entered the eaſtern province of Algiers, now called Conſtantina, anciently;

* Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 106.

ly the Mauritania Cæſarienſis, whoſe capital, Conſtantina, is the ancient metropolis of Syphax. It was called Cirta *, and, after Julius Cæſar's conqueſt, Cirta Sittianorum, from Caius Sittius who firſt took it. It is ſituated upon a high, gloomy, tremendous precipice. Part only of its aqueduct remains: the water, which once was carried into the town, now ſpills itſelf from the top of the cliff into a chaſm, or narrow valley, above four hundred feet below. The view of it is in the King's collection; a band of robbers, the figures which adorn it, is a compoſition from imagination; all the reſt is perfectly real.

The Bey was at this time in his camp, as he was making war with the Hanneiſhah, the moſt powerful tribe of Arabs in that province. After having refreſhed myſelf in the Bey's palace I ſet out to Seteef, the Sitifi † of antiquity, the capital of Mauritania Sitifenſis, at ſome diſtance from which I joined the Bey's army, conſiſting of about 12,000 men, with four pieces of cannon. After ſtaying a few days with the Bey, and obtaining his letters of recommendation, I proceeded to Taggou-zainah, anciently Diana Veteranorum ‡, as we learn by an inſcription on a triumphal arch of the Corinthian order which I found there.

From Taggou-zainah I continued my journey nearly ſtraight S. E. and arrived at Medraſhem, a ſuperb pile of building, the ſepulchre of Syphax, and the other kings of Numidia, and where, as the Arabs believe, were alſo depo-

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* Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 111. † Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 108.

‡ Vide Itin. Anton.

ſited the treaſures of thoſe kings. A drawing of this monument is ſtill unpubliſhed in my collection. Advancing ſtill to the S. E. through broken ground and ſome very barren valleys, which produced nothing but game, I came to Jibbel Aurez, the Auraſius Mons of the middle age. This is not one mountain, but an aſſemblage of many of the moſt craggy ſteeps in Africa.

Here I met, to my great aſtoniſhment, a tribe, who, if I cannot ſay they were fair like Engliſh, were of a ſhade lighter than that of the inhabitants of any country to the ſouthward of Britain. Their hair alſo was red, and their eyes blue. They are a ſavage and independent people; it required addreſs to approach them with ſafety, which, however, I accompliſhed, (the particulars would take too much room for this place), was well received, and at perfect liberty to do whatever I pleaſed. This tribe is called Neardie. Each of the tribe, in the middle between their eyes, has a Greek croſs marked with antimony. They are Kabyles. Though living in tribes, they have among the mountains huts, built with mud and ſtraw, which they call Daſhkras, whereas the Arabs live in tents on the plains. I imagine theſe to be a remnant of Vandals. Procopius* mentions a defeat of an army of this nation here, after a deſperate reſiſtance, a remnant of which may be ſuppoſed to have maintained themſelves in theſe mountains. They with great pleaſure confeſſed their anceſtors had been Chriſtians, and ſeemed to rejoice much more in that relation than in any connection with the Moors, with whom they live in perpetual

* Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. ii. cap. 13.

tual war: they pay no taxes to the Bey, but live in conſtant defiance of him.

As this is the Mons Audus of Ptolemy, here too muſt be fixed his Lambeſa*, or Lambeſentium Colonia, which, by a hundred Latin inſcriptions remaining on the ſpot, it is atteſted to have been. It is now called Tezzoute: the ruins of the city are very extenſive. There are ſeven of the gates ſtill ſtanding, and great pieces of the walls ſolidly built with ſquare maſonry without lime. The buildings remaining are of very different ages, from Adrian to Aurelian, nay even to Maximin. One building only, ſupported by columns of the Corinthian order, was in good taſte; what its uſe was I know not. The drawing of this is in the King's collection. It was certainly deſigned for ſome military purpoſe, by the ſize of the gates; I ſhould ſuſpect a ſtable for elephants, or a repoſitory for catapulta, or other large military machines, though there are no traces left upon the walls indicating either. Upon the key-ſtone of the arch of the principal gate there is a baſſo-relievo of the ſtandard of a legion, and upon it an inſcription, Legio tertia Auguſta, which legion, we know from hiſtory, was quartered here. Dr Shaw† ſays, that there is here a neat, round, Corinthian temple, called Cubb el Arrouſah, the Cupola or Dome of the Bride or Spouſe. Such a building does exiſt, but it is by no means of a good taſte, nor of the Corinthian order; but of a long diſproportioned Doric, of the time of Aurelian, and does not merit the attention of any architect. Dr Shaw never

* Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 111. † Shaw's Travels, chap. viii. p. 57.

never was ſo far ſouth as Jibbel Aurez, ſo could only ſay this from report.

From Jibbel Aurez nothing occurred in the ſtyle of architecture that was material. Hydra remained on the left hand. I came to Caſſareen, the ancient Colonia Scillitana*, where I ſuffered ſomething both from hunger and from fear. The country was more rugged and broken than any we had yet ſeen, and withal leſs fruitful and inhabited. The Moors of theſe parts are a rebellious tribe, called Nemem-ſhah, who had fled from their ordinary obligation of attending the Bey, and had declared themſelves on the part of the rebel-moors, the Henneiſhah.

My intentions now were to reach Feriana, the Thala † of the ancients, where I expected conſiderable ſubjects for ſtudy; but in this I was diſappointed, and being on the frontier, and in dangerous times, when ſeveral armies were in the field, I thought it better to ſteer my courſe eaſtward, and avoid the theatre of war.

Journeying eaſt, I came to Spaitla ‡, and again got into the kingdom of Tunis. Spaitla is a corruption of Suffetula ‖, which was probably its ancient name before it became a Roman colony; ſo called from Suffetes, a magiſtrature in all the countries dependent upon Carthage. Spaitla has many inſcriptions, and very extenſive and elegant remains. There are three temples, two of them Corinthian, and one of the

* Shaw's Travels, cap. v. p. 119.

† Sal. Bel. Jug. § 94. L. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 1. ‡ Shaw's Travels, chap. v. p. 118.

‖ Itin. Anton. p. 3.

the Compoſite order; a great part of them is entire. A beautiful and perfect capital of the Compoſite order, the only perfect one that now exiſts, is deſigned, in all its parts, in a very large ſize; and, with the detail of the reſt of the ruin, is a precious monument of what that order was, now in the collection of the King.

Doctor Shaw, ſtruck with the magnificence of Spaitla, has attempted ſomething like the three temples, in a ſtile much like what one would expect from an ordinary carpenter, or maſon. I hope I have done them more juſtice, and I recommend the ſtudy of the Compoſite capital, as of the Corinthian capital at Dugga, to thoſe who really wiſh to know the taſte with which theſe two orders were executed in the time of the Antonines.

The Welled Omran, a lawleſs, plundering tribe, inquieted me much in the eight days I ſtaid at Spaitla. It was a fair match between coward and coward. With my company, I was incloſed in a ſquare in which the three temples ſtood, where there yet remained a precinct of high walls. Theſe plunderers would have come in to me; but were afraid of my fire-arms; and I would have run away from them, had I not been afraid of meeting their horſe in the plain. I was almoſt ſtarved to death, when I was relieved by the arrival of Welled Haſſan, and a friendly tribe of Dreeda, that came to my aſſiſtance, and brought me, at once, both ſafety and proviſion.

From Spaitla I went to Gilma, or Oppidum Chilmanenſe. There is here a large extent of rubbiſh and ſtones, but no diſtinct trace of any building whatever.

From Gilma I paſſed to Muchtar, corruptly now ſo called. Its ancient name is Tucca Terebinthina *. Dr Shaw † ſays its modern name is Sbeeba, but no ſuch name is known here. I might have paſſed more directly from Spaitla ſouthward, but a large chain of mountains, to whoſe inhabitants I had no recommendation, made me prefer the ſafer and plainer road by Gilma. At Tucca Terebinthina are two triumphal arches, the largeſt of which I ſuppoſe equal in taſte, execution, and maſs, to any thing now exiſting in the world. The leſſer is more ſimple, but very elegant. They are both, with all the particulars of their parts, not yet engraved, but ſtill in my collection.

From Muchtar, or Tucca Terebinthina, we came to Kiſſer‡, which Dr Shaw conjectures to have been the Colonia Aſſuras of the ancients, by this it ſhould ſeem he had not been there; for there is an inſcription upon a triumphal arch of very good taſte, now ſtanding, and many others to be met with up and down, which confirms beyond doubt his conjecture to be a juſt one. There is, beſides this, a ſmall ſquare temple, upon which are carved ſeveral inſtruments of ſacrifice, which are very curious, but the execution of theſe is much inferior to the deſign. It ſtands on the declivity of a hill, above a large fertile plain, ſtill called the Plain of Surſe, which is probably a corruption of its ancient name Aſſuras.

From Kiſſer I came to Muſti, where there is a triumphal arch of very good taſte, but perfectly in ruins; the

* Itin. Anton. p. 3. † Shaw's Travels, cap. v. p. 115.

‡ Cel. Geog. Antique, lib. iv. cap. 4. and cap. 5. p. 118.

merit of its ſeveral parts only could be collected from the fragments which lie ſtrewed upon the ground.

From Muſti * I proceeded north-eaſtward to Tuberſoke, thence again to Dugga, and down the Bagrada to Tunis.

My third, or, which may be called my middle journey through Tunis, was by Zowan, a high mountain, where is a large aqueduct which formerly carried its water to Carthage. Thence I came to Jelloula, a village lying below high mountains on the weſt; theſe are the Montes Vaſſaleti of Ptolemy ‡, as the town itſelf is the Oppidum Uſalitanum of Pliny. I fell here again into the ancient road at Gilma; and, not ſatisfied with what I had ſeen of the beauties of Spaitla, I paſſed there five days more, correcting and reviſing what I had already committed to paper. Independent of the treaſure I found in the elegance of its buildings, the town itſelf is ſituated in the moſt beautiful ſpot in Barbary, ſurrounded thick with juniper-trees, and watered by a pleaſant ſtream that ſinks there under the earth, and appears no more.

Here I left my former road at Caſſareen, and proceeding directly S. E. came to Keriana, the road that I had abandoned before from prudential motives. Keriana, as has been before obſerved, is the ancient Thala, taken and deſtroyed by Metellus in his purſuit of Jugurtha. I had formed, I know not from what reaſon, ſanguine expectations of ele-

* Itin. Anton. p. 2.

‡ Ptol. Geog. lib. iv. p. 110.

gant remains here, but in this I was diſappointed; I found nothing remarkable but the baths of very warm water* without the town; in theſe there was a number of fiſh, above four inches in length, not unlike gudgeons. Upon trying the heat by the thermometer, I remember to have been much ſurpriſed that they could have exiſted, or even not been boiled, by continuing long in the heat of this medium. As I marked the degrees with a pencil while I was myſelf naked in the water, the leaf was wetted accidentally, ſo that I miſſed the preciſe degree I meant to have recorded, and do not pretend to ſupply it from memory. The bath is at the head of the fountain, and the ſtream runs off to a conſiderable diſtance. I think there were about five or ſix dozen of theſe fiſh in the pool. I was told likewiſe, that they went down into the ſtream to a certain diſtance in the day, and returned to the pool, or warmeſt and deepeſt water, at night.

From Feriana I proceeded S. E. to Gafsa, the ancient Capſa†, and thence to Tozer, formerly Tiſurus ‖. I then turned nearly N. E. and entered a large lake of water called the Lake of Marks, becauſe in the paſſage of it there is a row of large trunks of palm-trees ſet up to guide travellers in the road which croſſes it. Doctor Shaw has ſettled very diſtinctly the geography of this place, and thoſe about it. It is the Palus Tritonidis ‡, as he juſtly obſerves; this was the moſt barren and unpleaſant part of my journey in

* This fountain is called El Tarmid. Nub. Geog. p. 86.

† Sal. Bell. § 94. ‖ Itin. Anton, p. 4. ‡ Shaw's Travels, cap. v. p. 126.

in Africa; barren not only from the nature of its ſoil, but by its having no remains of antiquity in the whole courſe of it.

From this I came to Gabs, or Tacape *, after paſſing El Hammah, the baths which were the Aquas Tacapitanas of antiquity, where the ſmall river Triton, by the moiſture which it furniſhes, moſt agreeably and ſuddenly changes the deſert ſcene, and covers the adjacent fields with all kinds of flowers and verdure.

I was now arrived upon the leſſer Syrtis, and continued along the ſea-coaſt northward to Inſhilla, without having made any addition to my obſervations. I turned again to the N. W. and came to El Gemme ‡, where there is a very large and ſpacious amphitheatre, perfect as to the deſolation of time, had not Mahomet Bey blown up four arches of it from the foundation, that it might not ſerve as a fortreſs to the rebel Arabs. The ſections, elevations, and plans, with the whole detail of its parts, are in the King's collection.

I have ſtill remaining, but not finiſhed, the lower or ſubterraneous plan of the building, an entrance to which I forced open in my journey along the coaſt to Tripoli. This was made ſo as to be filled with water by means of a ſluice and aqueduct, which are ſtill entire. The water roſe up in the arena, through a large ſquare-hole faced with hewn-ſtone in the middle, when there was occaſion for water-games or naumachia. Doctor Shaw † imagines this was

* Itin. Anton. p. 4. ‡ Id. Ibid. † Shaw's Travels, p. 117. cap. 5.

intended to contain the pillar that ſupported the velum, which covered the ſpectators from the influence of the ſun. It might have ſerved for both purpoſes, but it ſeems to be too large for the latter, though I confeſs the more I have conſidered the ſize and conſtruction of theſe amphitheatres, the leſs I have been able to form an idea concerning this velum, or the manner in which it ſerved the people, how it was ſecured, and how it was removed. This was the laſt ancient building I viſited in the kingdom of Tunis, and I believe I may confidently ſay, there is not, either in the territories of Algiers or Tunis, a fragment of good taſte of which I have not brought a drawing to Britain.

I CONTINUED along the coaſt to Suſa, through a fine country planted with olive-trees, and came again to Tunis, not only without diſagreeable accident, but without any interruption from ſickneſs or other cauſe. I then took leave of the Bey, and, with the acknowledgments uſual on ſuch occaſions, again ſet out from Tunis, on a very ſerious journey indeed, over the deſert to Tripoli, the firſt part of which to Gabs was the ſame road by which I had ſo lately returned. From Gabs I proceeded to the iſland of Gerba, the Meninx * Inſula, or Iſland of the Lotophagi.

DOCTOR SHAW ſays, the fruit he calls the Lotus is very frequent all over that coaſt. I wiſh he had ſaid what was this Lotus. To ſay it is the fruit the moſt common on that coaſt is no deſcription, for there is there no ſort of fruit whatever;

* Boch. Chan. lib. i. cap. 25. Shaw's Travels, cap. iv. p. 115.

whatever; no buſh, no tree, nor verdure of any kind, excepting the ſhort graſs that borders theſe countries before you enter the moving ſands of the deſert. Doctor Shaw never was at Gerba, and has taken this particular from ſome unfaithful ſtory-teller. The Wargumma and Noile, two great tribes of Arabs, are maſters of theſe deſerts. Sidi Iſmain, whoſe grandfather, the Bey of Tunis, had been dethroned and ſtrangled by the Algerines, and who was himſelf then priſoner at Algiers, in great repute for valour, and in great intimacy with me, did often uſe to ſay, that he accounted his having paſſed that deſert on horſeback as the hardieſt of all his undertakings.

About four days journey from Tripoli I met the Emir Hadje conducting the caravan of pilgrims from Fez and Sus in Morocco, all acroſs Africa to Mecca, that is, from the Weſtern Ocean, to the weſtern banks of the Red Sea in the kingdom of Sennaar. He was a middle-aged man, uncle to the preſent emperor, of a very uncomely, ſtupid kind of countenance. His caravan conſiſted of about 3000 men, and, as his people ſaid, from 12,000 to 14,000 camels, part loaded with merchandiſe, part with ſkins of water, flour, and other kinds of food, for the maintenance of the hadjees; they were a ſcurvy, diſorderly, unarmed pack, and when my horſemen, tho' but fifteen in number, came up with them in the grey of the morning, they ſhewed great ſigns of trepidation, and were already flying in confuſion. When informed who they were, their fears ceaſed, and, after the uſual manner of cowards, they became extremely inſolent.

At Tripoli I met the Hon. Mr Frazer of Lovat, his Majeſty's conſul in that ſtation, from whom I received every ſort of kindneſs, comfort, and aſſiſtance, which I very much needed after ſo rude a journey, made with ſuch diligence that two of my horſes died ſome days after.

I had hopes of finding ſomething at Lebeda, formerly Leptis Magna *, three days journey from Tripoli, where are indeed a great number of buildings, many of which are covered by the ſands; but they are of a bad taſte, moſtly ill-proportioned Dorics of the time of Aurelian. Seven large columns of granite were ſhipped from this for France, in the reign of Louis XIV. deſtined for one of the palaces he was then building. The eighth was broken on the way, and lies now upon the ſhore. Though I was diſappointed at Lebeda, ample amends were made me at Tripoli on my return.

From Tripoli I ſent an Engliſh ſervant to Smyrna with my books, drawings, and ſupernumerary inſtruments, retaining only extracts from ſuch authors as might be neceſſary for me in the Pentapolis, or other parts of the Cyrenaicum. I then croſſed the Gulf of Sidra, formerly known by the name of the Syrtis Major, and arrived at Bengazi, the ancient Berenice §, built by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The brother of the Bey of Tripoli commanded here, a young man, as weak in underſtanding as he was in health.

* Itin. Anton. p. 104. § Ptol. Geog. p. 4.

All the province was in extreme confuſion. Two tribes of Arabs, occupying the territory to the weſt of the town, who in ordinary years, and in time of peace, were the ſources of its wealth and plenty, had, by the miſmanagement of the Bey, entered into deadly quarrel. The tribe that lived moſt to the weſtward, and which was reputed the weakeſt, had beat the moſt numerous that was neareſt the town, called Welled Abid, and driven them within its walls. The inhabitants of Bengazi had for a year before been labouring under a ſevere famine, and by this accident about four thouſand perſons, of all ages and ſexes, were forced in upon them, when perfectly deſtitute of every neceſſary. Ten or twelve people were found dead every night in the ſtreets, and life was ſaid in many to be ſupported by food that human nature ſhudders at the thoughts of. Impatient to fly from theſe Thyeſtean feaſts, I prevailed upon the Bey to ſend me out ſome diſtance to the ſouthward, among the Arabs where famine had been leſs felt.

I ENCOMPASSED a great part of the Pentapolis, viſited the ruins of Arſinoe, and, though I was much more feebly recommended than uſual, I happily received neither inſult nor injury. Finding nothing at Arſinoe nor Barca, I continued my journey to Ras Sem, the petrified city, concerning which ſo many monſtrous lies were told by the Tripoline ambaſſador, Caſſem Aga, at the beginning of this century, and all believed in England, though they carried falſehood upon the very face of them *. It was not then the age of incredulity

* Shaw's Travels, ſect. vi. p. 156.

incredulity, we were faſt advancing to the celebrated epoch of the man in the pint-bottle, and from that time to be as abſurdly incredulous as we were then the reverſe, and with the ſame degree of reaſon.

Ras Sem is five long days journey ſouth from Bengazi; it has no water, except a ſpring very diſagreeable to the taſte, that appears to be impregnated with alum, and this has given it the name it bears of Ras Sem, or the Fountain of Poiſon, from its bitterneſs. The whole remains here conſiſt in the ruins of a tower or fortification, that ſeems to be a work full as late as the time of the Vandals. How or what uſe they made of this water I cannot poſſibly gueſs; they had no other at the diſtance of two days journey. I was not fortunate enough to diſcover the petrified men and horſes, the women at the churn, the little children, the cats, the dogs, and the mice, which his Barbarian excellency aſſured Sir Hans Sloane exiſted there: Yet, in vindication of his Excellency, I muſt ſay, that though he propagated, yet he did not invent this falſehood; the Arabs who conducted me maintained the ſame ſtories to be true, till I was within two hours of the place, where I found them to be falſe. I ſaw indeed mice *, as they are called, of a very extraordinary kind, having nothing of petrifaction about them, but agile and active, ſo to partake as much of the bird as the beaſt.

Approaching now the ſea-coaſt I came to Ptolometa, the ancient Ptolemais ‡, the work of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the walls

* Jerboa, ſee a figure of it in the Appendix. ‡ Itin. Anton. p. 4.

walls and gates of which city are ſtill entire. There is a prodigious number of Greek inſcriptions, but there remain only a few columns of the portico, and an Ionic temple, in the firſt manner of executing that order; and therefore, ſlight as the remains are, they are treaſures in the hiſtory of architecture which are worthy to be preſerved. Theſe are in the King's collection, with all the parts that could be recovered.

Here I met a ſmall Greek junk belonging to Lampedoſa, a little iſland near Crete, which had been unloading corn, and was now ready to ſail. At the ſame time the Arabs of Ptolometa told me, that the Welled Ali, a powerful tribe that occupy the whole country between that place and Alexandria, were at war among themſelves, and had plundered the caravan of Morocco, of which I have already ſpoken, and that the pilgrims compoſing it had moſtly periſhed, having been ſcattered in the deſert without water; that a great famine had been at Derna, the neighbouring town, to which I intended to go; that a plague had followed, and the town, which is divided into upper and lower, was engaged in a civil war. This torrent of ill news was irreſiſtible, and was of a kind I did not propoſe to wreſtle with; beſides, there was nothing, as far as I knew, that merited the riſk. I reſolved, therefore, to fly from this inhoſpitable coaſt, and ſave to the public, at leaſt, that knowledge and entertainment I had acquired for them.

I embarked on board the Greek veſſel, very ill accoutred, as we afterwards found, and, though it had plenty of ſail, it had not an ounce of ballaſt. A number of people, men, women, and children, flying from the calamities which attend

tend famine, crowded in unknown to me; but the paſſage was ſhort, the veſſel light, and the maſter, as we ſuppoſed, well accuſtomed to theſe ſeas. The contrary of this, however, was the truth, as we learned afterwards, when too late, for he was an abſolute landſman; proprietor indeed of the veſſel, but this had been his firſt voyage. We ſailed at dawn of day in as favourable and pleaſant weather as ever I ſaw at ſea. It was the beginning of September, and a light and ſteady breeze, though not properly fair, promiſed a ſhort and agreeable voyage; but it was not long before it turned freſh and cold; we then had a violent ſhower of hail, and the clouds were gathering as if for thunder. I obſerved that we gained no offing, and hoped, if the weather turned bad, to perſuade the Captain to put into Bengazi, for one inconvenience he preſently diſcovered, that they had not proviſion on board for one day.

However, the wind became contrary, and blew a violent ſtorm, ſeeming to menace both thunder and rain. The veſſel being in her trim with large latine ſails, fell violently to leeward, and they ſcarce would have weathered the Cape that makes the entrance into the harbour of Bengazi, which is a very bad one, when all at once it ſtruck upon a ſunken rock, and ſeemed to be ſet down upon it. The wind at that inſtant ſeemed providentially to calm; but I no ſooner obſerved the ſhip had ſtruck than I began to think of my own ſituation. We were not far from ſhore, but there was an exceeding great ſwell at ſea. Two boats were ſtill towed aſtern of them, and had not been hoiſted in. Roger M'Cormack, my Iriſh ſervant, had been a ſailor on board the Monarch before he deſerted to the Spaniſh ſervice. He and the other, who had likewiſe been a ſailor, preſently unlaſhed

ed the largeſt boat, and all three got down into her, followed by a multitude of people whom we could not hinder, and there was, indeed, ſomething that bordered on cruelty, in preventing poor people from uſing the ſame means that we had done for preſerving their lives; yet, unleſs we had killed them, the prevention was impoſſible, and, had we been inclined to that meaſure, we dared not, as we were upon a Mooriſh coaſt. The moſt that could be done was, to get looſe from the ſhip as ſoon as poſſible, and two oars were prepared to row the boat aſhore. I had ſtript myſelf to a ſhort under-waiſtcoat and linen drawers; a ſilk ſaſh, or girdle, was wrapt round me; a pencil, ſmall pocket-book, and watch, were in the breaſt-pocket of my waiſtcoat; two Mooriſh and two Engliſh ſervants followed me; the reſt, more wiſe, remained on board.

We were not twice the length of the boat from the veſſel before a wave very nearly filled the boat. A howl of deſpair from thoſe that were in her ſhewed their helpleſs ſtate, and that they were conſcious of a danger they could not ſhun. I ſaw the fate of all was to be decided by the very next wave that was rolling in; and apprehenſive that ſome woman, child, or helpleſs man would lay hold of me, and entangle my arms or legs and weigh me down, I cried to my ſervants, both in Arabic and Engliſh, We are all loſt; if you can ſwim, follow me; I then let myſelf down in the face of the wave. Whether that, or the next, filled the boat, I know not, as I went to leeward to make my diſtance as great as poſſible. I was a good, ſtrong, and practiſed ſwimmer, in the flower of life, full of health, trained to exerciſe and fatigue of every kind. All this, however, which might

have availed much in deep water, was not ſufficient when I came to the ſurf. I received a violent blow upon my breaſt from the eddy wave and reflux, which ſeemed as given me by a large branch of a tree, thick cord, or ſome elaſtic weapon. It threw me upon my back, made me ſwallow a conſiderable quantity of water, and had then almoſt ſuffocated me.

I AVOIDED the next wave, by dipping my head and letting it paſs over, but found myſelf breathleſs, exceedingly weary and exhauſted. The land, however, was before me, and cloſe at hand. A large wave floated me up. I had the proſpect of eſcape ſtill nearer, and endeavoured to prevent myſelf from going back into the ſurf. My heart was ſtrong, but ſtrength was apparently failing, by being involuntarily twiſted about, and ſtruck on the face and breaſt by the violence of the ebbing wave: it now ſeemed as if nothing remained but to give up the ſtruggle, and reſign to my deſtiny. Before I did this I ſunk to ſound if I could touch the ground, and found that I reached the ſand with my feet, though the water was ſtill rather deeper than my mouth. The ſucceſs of this experiment infuſed into me the ſtrength of ten men, and I ſtrove manfully, taking advantage of floating only with the influx of the wave, and preſerving my ſtrength for the ſtruggle againſt the ebb, which, by ſinking and touching the ground, I now made more eaſy. At laſt, finding my hands and knees upon the ſands, I fixed my nails into it, and obſtinately reſiſted being carried back at all, crawling a few feet when the ſea had retired. I had perfectly loſt my recollection and underſtanding, and after creeping ſo far as to be out of the reach of the ſea, I ſuppoſe

poſe I fainted, for from that time I was totally inſenſible of any thing that paſſed around me.

In the mean time the Arabs, who live two ſhort miles from the ſhore, came down in crowds to plunder the veſſel. One of the boats was thrown aſhore, and they had belonging to them ſome others; there was one yet with the wreck, which ſcarcely appeared with its gunnel above water. All the people were now taken on ſhore, and thoſe only loſt who periſhed in the boat. What firſt wakened me from this ſemblance of death was a blow with the butt-end of a lance, ſhod with iron, upon the juncture of the neck with the back-bone. This produced a violent ſenſation of pain; but it was a mere accident the blow was not with the point, for the ſmall, ſhort waiſtcoat, which had been made at Algiers, the faſh and drawers, all in the Turkiſh faſhion, made the Arabs believe that I was a Turk; and after many blows, kicks, and curſes, they ſtript me of the little cloathing I had, and left me naked. They uſed the reſt in the ſame manner, then went to their boats to look for the bodies of thoſe that were drowned.

After the diſcipline I had received, I had walked, or crawled up among ſome white, ſandy hillocks, where I ſat down and concealed myſelf as much as poſſible. The weather was then warm, but the evening promiſed to be cooler, and it was faſt drawing on; there was great danger to be apprehended if I approached the tents where the women were while I was naked, for in this caſe it was very probable I would receive another baſtinado ſomething worſe than the firſt. Still I was ſo confuſed that I had not recollected I could ſpeak to them in their own language, and it now only

ly came into my mind, that by the gibberiſh, in imitation of Turkiſh, which the Arab had uttered to me while he was beating and ſtripping me, he took me for a Turk, and to this in all probability the ill-uſage was owing.

An old man and a number of young Arabs came up to me where I was ſitting. I gave them the ſalute *Salam Alicum!* which was only returned by one young man, in a tone as if he wondered at my impudence. The old man then aſked me, Whether I was a Turk, and what I had to do there? I replied, I was no Turk, but a poor Chriſtian phyſician, a Derviſh that went about the world ſeeking to do good for God's ſake, was then flying from famine, and going to Greece to get bread. He then aſked me if I was a Cretan? I ſaid, I had never been in Crete, but came from Tunis, and was returning to that town, having loſt every thing I had in the ſhipwreck of that veſſel. I ſaid this in ſo deſpairing a tone, that there was no doubt left with the Arab that the fact was true. A ragged, dirty baracan was immediately thrown over me, and I was ordered up to a tent, in the end of which ſtood a long ſpear thruſt through it, a mark of ſovereignty.

I there ſaw the Shekh of the tribe, who being in peace with the Bey of Bengazi, and alſo with the Shekh of Ptolometa, after many queſtions ordered me a plentiful ſupper, of which all my ſervants partook, none of them having pe[illegible]ſed. A multitude of conſultations followed on their complaints, of which I freed myſelf in the beſt manner I could, alledging the loſs of all my medicines, in order to induce ſome of them to ſeek for the ſextant at leaſt, but all to no

purpoſe, ſo that, after ſtaying two days among them, the Shekh reſtored to us all that had been taken from us, and mounting us upon camels, and giving us a conductor, he forwarded us to Bengazi, where we arrived the ſecond day in the evening. Thence I ſent a compliment to the Shekh, and with it a man from the Bey, intreating that he would uſe all poſſible means to fiſh up ſome of my caſes, for which I aſſured him he ſhould not miſs a handſome reward. Promiſes and thanks were returned, but I never heard further of my inſtruments; all I recovered was a ſilver watch of Ellicot, the work of which had been taken out and broken, ſome pencils, and a ſmall port-folio, in which were ſketches of Ptolemeta; my pocket-book too was found, but my pencil was loſt, being in a common ſilver caſe, and with them all the aſtronomical obſervations which I had made in Barbary. I there loſt a ſextant, a parallactic inſtrument, a time-piece, a reflecting teleſcope, an achromatic one, with many drawings, a copy of M. de la Caille's ephemerides down to the year 1775, much to be regretted, as being full of manuſcript marginal notes; a ſmall camera obſcura, ſome guns, piſtols, a blunderbuſs, and ſeveral other articles.

I FOUND at Bengazi a ſmall French ſloop, the maſter of which had been often at Algiers when I was conſul there. I had even, as the maſter remembered, done him ſome little ſervice, for which, contrary to the cuſtom of that ſort of people, he was very grateful. He had come there laden with corn, and was going up the Archipelago, or towards the Morea, for more. The cargo he had brought was but a mite compared to the neceſſities of the place; it only relieved

lieved the ſoldiers for a time, and many people of all ages and ſexes were ſtill dying every day.

The harbour of Bengazi is full of fiſh, and my company caught a great quantity with a ſmall net; we likewiſe procured a multitude with the line, enough to have maintained a larger number of perſons than the family conſiſted of; we got vinegar, pepper, and ſome ſtore of onions; we had little bread it is true, but ſtill our induſtry kept us very far from ſtarving. We endeavoured to inſtruct theſe wretches, gave them pack-thread, and ſome coarſe hooks, by which they might have ſubſiſted with the ſmalleſt attention and trouble; but they would rather ſtarve in multitudes, ſtriving to pick up ſingle grains of corn, that were ſcattered upon the beach by the burſting of the ſacks, or the inattention of the mariners, than take the pains to watch one hour at the flowing of the tide for excellent fiſh, where, after taking one, they were ſure of being maſters of multitudes till it was high water.

The Captain of the ſmall veſſel loſt no time. He had done his buſineſs well, and though he was returning for another cargo, yet he offered me what part of his funds I ſhould need with great frankneſs. We now ſailed with a fair wind, and in four or five days eaſy weather landed at Canea, a conſiderable fortified place at the weſt end of the iſland of Crete. Here I was taken dangerouſly ill, occaſioned by the bathing and extraordinary exertions in the ſea of Ptolometa, nor was I in the leaſt the better from the beating I had received, ſigns of which I bore very long afterwards.

From Canea I ſailed for Rhodes, and there met my books; I then proceeded to Caſtelroſſo, on the coaſt of Caramania, and was there credibly informed that there were very magnificent remains of ancient buildings a ſhort way from the ſhore, on the oppoſite continent. Caramania is a part of Aſia Minor yet unexplored. But my illneſs increaſing, it was impoſſible to execute, or take any meaſures to ſecure protection, or do the buſineſs ſafely, and I was forced to relinquiſh this diſcovery to ſome more fortunate traveller.

Mr Peyssonel, French conſul at Smyrna, a man not more diſtinguiſhed for his amiable manners than for his polite taſte in literature, of which he has given ſeveral elegant ſpecimens, furniſhed me with letters for that part of Caramania, or Aſia Minor, and there is no doubt but they would have been very efficacious. What increaſed the obligation for this kind attention ſhewn, was, that I had never ſeen Mr Peyſſonel; and I am truly mortified, that, ſince my arrival in England, I have had no opportunity to return my grateful thanks for this kindneſs, which I therefore beg that he will now accept, together with a copy of theſe travels, which I have ordered my French bookſeller to forward to him.

From Caſtelroſſo I continued, without any thing remarkable, till I came to Cyprus; I ſtaid there but half a day, and arrived at Sidon, where I was moſt kindly received by Mr Clerambaut, brother-in-law to Mr Peyſſonel, and French conſul at this place; a man in politeneſs, humanity, and every ſocial quality of the mind, inferior to none I have ever known. With him, and a very flouriſhing, well-informed, and induſtrious nation, I continued for ſome time, then

in a weak ſtate of health, but ſtill making partial excurſions from time to time into the continent of Syria, through Libanus, and Anti Libanus; but as I made theſe without inſtruments, and paſſed pretty much in the way of the travellers who have deſcribed theſe countries before, I leave the hiſtory to thoſe gentlemen, without ſwelling, by entering into particular narratives, this Introduction, already too long.

While at Canea I wrote by way of France, and again while at Rhodes by way of Smyrna, to particular friends both in London and France, informing them of my diſaſtrous ſituation, and deſiring them to ſend me a moveable quadrant or ſextant, as near as poſſible to two feet radius, more or leſs, a time-keeper, ſtop-watch, a reflecting teleſcope, and one of Dolland's achromatic ones, as near as poſſible to three-feet reflectors, with ſeveral other articles which I then wanted.

I received from Paris and London much about the ſame time, and as if it had been dictated by the ſame perſon, nearly the ſame anſwer, which was this, That everybody was employed in making inſtruments for Daniſh, Swediſh, and other foreign aſtronomers; that all thoſe which were completed had been bought up, and without waiting a conſiderable, indefinite time, nothing could be had that could be depended upon. At the ſame time I was told, to my great mortification, that no accounts of me had arrived from Africa, unleſs from ſeveral idle letters, which had been induſtriouſly wrote by a gentleman whoſe name I abſtain from mentioning, firſt, becauſe he is dead, and next, out of reſpect to his truly great and worthy relations.

In theſe letters it was announced, that I was gone with a Ruſſian caravan through the Curdiſtan, where I was to obſerve the tranſit of Venus in a place where it was not viſible, and that I was to proceed to China, and return by the way of the Eaſt Indies :—a ſtory which ſome of his correſpondents, as profligate as himſelf, induſtriouſly circulated at the time, and which others, perhaps weaker than wicked, though wicked enough, have affected to believe to this day.

I conceived a violent indignation at this, and finding myſelf ſo treated in return for ſo complete a journey as I had then actually terminated, thought it below me to ſacrifice the beſt years of my life to daily pain and danger, when the impreſſion it made in the breaſts of my countrymen ſeemed to be ſo weak, ſo infinitely unworthy of them or me. One thing only detained me from returning home; it was my deſire of fulfilling my promiſe to my Sovereign, and of adding the ruins of Palmyra to thoſe of Africa, already ſecured and out of danger.

In my anger I renounced all thoughts of the attempt to diſcover the ſources of the Nile, and I repeated my orders no more for either quadrant, teleſcope, or time-keeper. I had pencils and paper; and luckily my large camera obſcura, which had eſcaped the cataſtrophe of Ptolometa, was arrived from Smyrna, and then ſtanding before me. I therefore began to caſt about, with my uſual care and anxiety, for the means of obtaining feaſible and ſafe methods of repeating the famous journey to Palmyra. I found it was neceſſary to advance nearer the ſcene of action. Mr Abbot, Britiſh conſul for Tripoli in Syria, kindly invited me, and

after him Mr Vernon, his ſucceſſor, a very excellent man, to take up my reſidence there. From Tripoli there is a trade in kelp carried on to the ſalt marſhes near Palmyra. The Shekh of Cariateen, a town juſt upon the edge of the deſert, had a contract with the baſha of Tripoli for a quantity of this herb for the uſe of the ſoap-works. I loſt no time in making a friendſhip with this man, but his return amounted to no more than to endeavour to lead me raſhly into real danger, where he knew he had not conſequence enough to give me a moment's protection.

THERE are two tribes almoſt equally powerful who inhabit the deſerts round Palmyra; the one is the Annecy, remarkable for the fineſt breed of horſes in the world; the other is the Mowalli, much better ſoldiers, but fewer in number, and very little inferior in the excellence of their horſes. The Annecy poſſeſs the country towards the S. W. at the back of Libanus, about Bozra down the Hawran, and ſouthward towards the borders of Arabia Petrea and Mount Horeb. The Mowalli inhabit the plains eaſt of Damaſcus to the Euphrates, and north to near Aleppo.

THESE two tribes were not at war, nor were they at peace; they were upon what is called ill-terms with each other, which is the moſt dangerous time for ſtrangers to have any dealings with either. I learned this as a certainty from a friend at Haſſia, where a Shekh lives, to whom I was recommended by a letter, as a friend of the baſha of Damaſcus. This man maintains his influence, not by a number of forces, but by conſtantly marrying a relation of one or both of theſe tribes of Arabs, who for that reaſon aſſiſt him in maintaining the ſecurity of his road, and he has the care

of that part of it by which the couriers paſs from Conſtantinople into Egypt, belonging to both theſe tribes, who were then at a diſtance from each other, and roved in flying ſquadrons all round Palmyra, by way of maintaining their right of paſture in places that neither of them choſe at that time to occupy. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, are what the Engliſh writers call Wild Arabs, for otherwiſe, though they are all wild enough, I do not know one wilder than another. This is very certain, theſe young men, compoſing the flying parties I ſpeak of, are truly wild while at a diſtance from their camp and government; and the ſtranger that falls in unawares with them, and eſcapes with his life, may ſet himſelf down as a fortunate traveller.

RETURNING from Haſſia I would have gone ſouthward to Baalbec, but it was then beſieged by Emir Youſef prince of the Druſes, a Pagan nation, living upon mount Libanus. Upon that I returned to Tripoli, in Syria, and after ſome time ſet out for Aleppo, travelling northward along the plain of Jeune betwixt mount Lebanon and the ſea.

I VISITED the ancient Byblus, and bathed with pleaſure in the river Adonis. All here is claſſic ground. I ſaw ſeveral conſiderable ruins of Grecian architecture all very much defaced. Theſe are already publiſhed by Mr Drummond, and therefore I left them, being never deſirous of interfering with the works of others.

I PASSED Latikea, formerly Laodicea ad Mare, and then came to Antioch, and afterwards to Aleppo. The fever and ague, which I had firſt caught in my cold bath at Bengazi, had returned upon me with great violence, after paſſing

one

one night encamped in the mulberry gardens behind Sidon. It had returned in very ſlight paroxyſms ſeveral times, but laid hold of me with more than ordinary violence on my arrival at Aleppo, where I came juſt in time to the houſe of Mr Belville, a French merchant, to whom I was addreſſed for my credit. Never was a more lucky addreſs, never was there a ſoul ſo congenial to my own as was that of Mr Belville: to ſay more after this would be praiſing myſelf. To him was immediately added Doctor Patrick Ruſſel, phyſician to the Britiſh factory there. Without the attention and friendſhip of the one, and the ſkill and anxiety of the other of theſe gentlemen, it is probable my travels would have ended at Aleppo. I recovered ſlowly. By the report of theſe two gentlemen, though I had yet ſeen nobody, I became a public care, nor did I ever paſs more agreeable hours than with Mr Thomas the French conſul, his family, and the merchants eſtabliſhed there. From Doctor Ruſſel I was ſupplied with what I wanted, ſome books, and much inſtruction. Noboby knew the diſeaſes of the Eaſt ſo well; and perhaps my eſcaping the fever at Aleppo was not the only time in which I owed him my life.

Being now reſtored to health, my firſt object was the journey to Palmyra. The Mowalli were encamped at no great diſtance from Aleppo. It was without difficulty I found a ſure way to explain my wiſhes, and to ſecure the aſſiſtance of Mahomet Kerfan, the Shekh, but from him I learned, in a manner that I could not doubt, that the way I intended to go down to Palmyra from the north was tedious, troubleſome, uncertain, and expenſive, and that he did not wiſh me to undertake it at that time. It is quite ſuperfluous in theſe

caſes

caſes to preſs for particular information; an Arab conductor, who proceeds with caution, ſurely means you well. He told me that he would leave a friend in the houſe of a certain Arab at Hamath *, about half-way to Palmyra, and if in ſomething more than a month I came there, and found that Arab, I might rely upon him without fear, and he would conduct me in ſafety to Palmyra.

I RETURNED to Tripoli, and at the time appointed ſet out for Hamath, found my conductor, and proceeded to Haſſia. Coming from Aleppo, I had not paſſed the lower way again by Antioch. The river which paſſes through the plains where they cultivate their beſt tobacco, is the Orontes; it was ſo ſwollen with rain, which had fallen in the mountains, that the ford was no longer viſible. Stopping at two miſerable huts inhabited by a baſe ſet called Turcomans, I aſked the maſter of one of them to ſhew me the ford, which he very readily undertook to do, and I went, for the length of ſome yards, on rough, but very hard and ſolid ground. The current before me was, however, ſo violent, that I had more than once a deſire to turn back, but, not ſuſpecting any thing, I continued, when on a ſudden man and horſe fell out of their depth into the river.

I HAD a rifled gun ſlung acroſs my ſhoulder, with a buff belt and ſwivel. As long as that held, it ſo embarraſſed my hands and legs that I could not ſwim, and muſt have ſunk; but luckily the ſwivel gave way, the gun fell to the bottom of the river, and was pickt up in dry weather by order of the

* The north boundary of the Holy Land.

the baſha, at the deſire of the French merchants, who kept it for a relict. I and my horſe ſwam ſeparately aſhore; at a ſmall diſtance from thence was a caphar*, or turnpike, to which, when I came to dry myſelf, the man told me, that the place where I had croſſed was the remains of a ſtone bridge now entirely carried away; where I had firſt entered was one of the wings of the bridge, from which I had fallen into the ſpace the firſt arch occupied, one of the deepeſt parts of the river; that the people who had miſguided me were an infamous ſet of banditti, and that I might be thankful on many accounts that I had made ſuch an eſcape from them, and was now on the oppoſite ſide. I then prevailed on the caphar-man to ſhew my ſervants the right ford.

From Haſſia we proceeded with our conductor to Cariateen, where there is an immenſe ſpring of fine water, which overflows into a large pool. Here, to our great ſurpriſe, we found about two thouſand of the Annecy encamped, who were quarrelling with Haſſan our old friend, the kelp-merchant. This was nothing to us; the quarrel between the Mowalli and Annecy had it ſeems been made up; for an old man from each tribe on horſeback accompanied us to Palmyra: the tribes gave us camels for more commodious travelling, and we paſſed the deſert between Cariateen and Palmyra in a day and two nights, going conſtantly without ſleeping.

Just

* It is a poſt where a party of men are kept to receive a contribution, for maintaining the ſecurity of the roads, from all paſſengers.

Just before we came in ſight of the ruins, we aſcended a hill of white gritty ſtone, in a very narrow-winding road, ſuch as we call a paſs, and, when arrived at the top, there opened before us the moſt aſtoniſhing, ſtupendous ſight that perhaps ever appeared to mortal eyes. The whole plain below, which was very extenſive, was covered ſo thick with magnificent buildings as that the one ſeemed to touch the other, all of fine proportions, all of agreeable forms, all compoſed of white ſtones, which at that diſtance appeared like marble. At the end of it ſtood the palace of the ſun, a building worthy to cloſe ſo magnificent a ſcene.

It was impoſſible for two perſons to think of deſigning ornaments, or taking meaſures, and there ſeemed the leſs occaſion for this as Mr Wood had done this part already. I had no intention to publiſh any thing concerning Palmyra; beſides, it would have been a violation of my firſt principle not to interfere with the labours of others; and if this was a rule I inviolably obſerved as to ſtrangers, every ſentiment of reaſon and gratitude obliged me to pay the ſame reſpect to the labours of Mr Wood my friend.

I divided Palmyra into ſix angular views, always bringing forward to the firſt ground an edifice, or principal group of columns, that deſerved it. The ſtate of the buildings are particularly favourable for this purpoſe. The columns are all uncovered to the very baſes, the ſoil upon which the town is built being hard and fixed ground. Theſe views are all upon large paper; the columns in ſome of them are a foot long; the figures in the fore-ground of the temple of the ſun are ſome of them near four inches.

BEFORE our departure from Palmyra I obſerved its latitude with a Hadley's quadrant from reflection. The inſtrument had probably warped in carriage, as the index went unpleaſantly, and as it were by ſtarts, ſo that I will not pretend to give this for an exact obſervation; yet, after all the care I could take, I only apprehended that 33° 58′ for the latitude of Palmyra, would be nearer the truth than any other. Again, that the diſtance from the coaſt in a ſtraight line being 160 miles, and that remarkable mountainous cape on the coaſt of Syria, between Byblus and Tripoli, known by the name of Theoproſopon, being nearly due weſt, or under the ſame parallel with Palmyra, I conceive the longitude of that city to be nearly 37° 9′ from the obſervatory of Greenwich.

FROM Palmyra I proceeded to Baalbec, diſtant about 130 miles, and arrived the ſame day that Emir Youſef had reduced the town and ſettled the government, and was decamping from it on his return home. This was the luckieſt moment poſſible for me, as I was the Emir's friend, and I obtained liberty to do there what I pleaſed, and to this indulgence was added the great convenience of the Emir's abſence, ſo that I was not troubled by the obſervance of any court-ceremony or attendance, or teazed with impertinent queſtions.

BAALBEC is pleaſantly ſituated in a plain on the weſt of Anti Libanus, is finely watered, and abounds in gardens. It is about fifty miles from Haſſia, and about thirty from the neareſt ſea-coaſt, which is the ſituation of the ancient Byblus. The interior of the great temple of Baalbec, ſuppoſed to be that of the ſun, ſurpaſſes any thing at Palmyra,

myra, indeed any ſculpture I ever remember to have ſeen in ſtone. All theſe views of Palmyra and Baalbec are now in the King's collection. They are the moſt magnificent offering in their line that ever was made by one ſubject to his ſovereign.

PASSING by Tyre, from curioſity only, I came to be a mournful witneſs of the truth of that prophecy, That Tyre, the queen of nations, ſhould be a rock for fiſhers to dry their nets on*. Two wretched fiſhermen, with miſerable nets, having juſt given over their occupation with very little ſucceſs, I engaged them, at the expence of their nets, to drag in thoſe places where they ſaid ſhell-fiſh might be caught, in hopes to have brought out one of the famous purple-fiſh. I did not ſucceed, but in this I was, I believe, as lucky as the old fiſhers had ever been. The purple fiſh at Tyre ſeems to have been only a concealment of their knowledge of cochineal, as, had they depended upon the fiſh for their dye, if the whole city of Tyre applied to nothing elſe but fiſhing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year. Much fatigued, but ſatisfied beyond meaſure with what I had ſeen, I arrived in perfect health, and in the gayeſt humour poſſible, at the hoſpitable manſion of M. Clerambaut at Sidon.

I FOUND there letters from Europe, which were in a very different ſtyle from the laſt. From London, my friend Mr Ruſſel acquainted me, that he had ſent me an excellent reflecting teleſcope of two feet focal length, moved by

* Ezek. chap. xxvi. ver. 5.

rack-work, and the laſt Mr Short ever made, which proved a very excellent inſtrument; alſo an achromatic teleſcope by Dolland, nearly equal to a three-feet reflector, with a foot, or ſtand, very artificially compoſed of rulers fixed together by ſcrews. I think this inſtrument might be improved by ſhortening the three principal legs of it. If the legs of its ſtand were about ſix inches ſhorter, this, without inconvenience, would take away the little ſhake it has when uſed in the outer air. Perhaps this defect is not in all teleſcopes of this conſtruction. It is a pleaſant inſtrument, and for its ſize takes very little packing, and is very manageable.

I HAVE brought home both theſe inſtruments after performing the whole journey, and they are now ſtanding in my library, in the moſt perfect order; which is rather to be wondered at from the accounts in which moſt travellers ſeem to agree, that metal ſpeculums, within the tropics, ſpot and ruſt ſo much as to be uſeleſs after a few obſervations made at or near the zenith. The fear of this, and the fragility of glaſs of achromatic teleſcopes, were the occaſion of a conſiderable expence to me; but from experience I found, that, if a little care be taken, one reflector would be ſufficient for a very long voyage.

FROM Paris I received a time-piece and a ſtop-watch made by M. Lepeaute, dearer than Ellicot's, and reſembling his in nothing elſe but the price. The clock was a very neat, portable inſtrument, made upon very ingenious, ſimple principles, but ſome of the parts were ſo groſsly neglected in the execution, and ſo unequally finiſhed, that it was not difficult for the meaneſt novice in the trade to point out the cauſe

cauſe of its irregularity. It remains with me in ſtatu quo. It has been of very little uſe to me, and never will be of much more to any perſon elſe. The price is, I am ſure, ten times more than it ought to be in any light I can conſider it.

All theſe letters ſtill left me in abſolute deſpair about obtaining a quadrant, and conſequently gave me very little ſatisfaction, but in ſome meaſure confirmed me in my reſolution already taken, to go from Sidon to Egypt; as I had then ſeen the greateſt part of the good architecture in the world, in all its degrees of perfection down to its decline, I wiſhed now only to ſee it in its origin, and for this it was neceſſary to go to Egypt.

Norden, Pococke, and many others, had given very ingenious accounts of Egyptian architecture in general, of the diſpoſition and ſize of their temples, magnificence of their materials, their hieroglyphics, and the various kinds of them, of their gilding, of their painting, and their preſent ſtate of preſervation. I thought ſomething more might be learnt as to the firſt proportions of their columns, and the conſtruction of their plans. Dendera, the ancient Tentyra, ſeemed by their accounts to offer a fair field for this.

I had already collected together a great many obſervations on the progreſs of Greek and Roman architecture in different ages, drawn not from books or connected with ſyſtem, but from the models themſelves, which I myſelf had meaſured. I had been long of the opinion, in which I am ſtill further confirmed, that taſte for ancient architecture, found-

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ed upon the examples that Italy alone can furniſh, was not giving ancient architects fair play. What was to be learned from the firſt proportions of their plans and elevations ſeemed to have remained untouched in Egypt; after having conſidered theſe, I propoſed to live in retirement on my native patrimony, with a fair ſtock of unexceptionable materials upon this ſubject, to ſerve for a pleaſant and uſeful amuſement in my old age. I hope ſtill theſe will not be loſt to the public, unleſs the encouragement be in proportion to what my labours have already had.

I NOW received, however, a letter very unexpectedly by way of Alexandria, which, if it did not overturn, at leaſt ſhook theſe reſolutions. The Comte de Buffon, Monſ. Guys of Marſeilles, and ſeveral others well known in the literary world, had ventured to ſtate to the miniſter, and through him to the king of France, Louis XV. how very much it was to be lamented, that after a man had been found who was likely to ſucceed in removing that opprobrium of travellers and geographers, by diſcovering the ſources of the Nile, one moſt unlucky accident, at a moſt unlucky time, ſhould fruſtrate the moſt promiſing endeavours. That prince, diſtinguiſhed for every good quality of the heart, for benevolence, beneficence, and a deſire of promoting and protecting learning, ordered a moveable quadrant of his own military academy at Marſeilles, as the neareſt and moſt convenient port of embarkation, to be taken down and ſent to me at Alexandria.

WITH this I received a letter from Mr Ruſſel, which informed me that aſtronomers had begun to cool in the ſanguine expectations of diſcovering the preciſe quantity of the

the ſun's parallax by obſervation of the tranſit of Venus, from ſome apprehenſion that errors of the obſervers would probably be more than the quantity of the equation ſought, and that they now ardently wiſhed for a journey into Abyſſinia, rather than an attempt to ſettle a nicety for which the learned had now begun to think the accuracy of our inſtruments was not ſufficient. A letter from my correſpondent at Alexandria alſo acquainted me, that the quadrant, and all other inſtruments, were in that city.

What followed is the voyage itſelf, the ſubject of the preſent publication. I am happy, by communicating every previous circumſtance that occurred to me, to have done all in my power to remove the greateſt part of the reaſonable doubts and difficulties which might have perplexed the reader's mind, or biaſſed his judgment in the peruſal of the narrative of the journey, and in this I hope I have ſucceeded.

I have now one remaining part of my promiſe to fulfil, to account for the delay in the publication. It will not be thought ſurpriſing to any that ſhall reflect on the diſtant, dreary, and deſert ways by which all letters were neceſſarily to paſs, or the civil wars then raging in Abyſſinia, the robberies and violences inſeparable from a total diſſolution of government, ſuch as happened in my time, that no accounts for many years, one excepted, ever arrived in Europe. One letter, accompanied by a bill for a ſum borrowed from a Greek at Gondar, found its way to Cairo; all the reſt had miſcarried: my friends at home gave me up for dead; and, as my death muſt have happened in circumſtances difficult to have been proved, my property became

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as it were an *hereditas jacens*, without an owner, abandoned in common to thoſe whoſe original title extended no further than temporary poſſeſſion.

A NUMBER of law-ſuits were the inevitable conſequence of this upon my return. One carried on with a very expenſive obſtinacy for the ſpace of ten years, by a very opulent and active company, was determined finally in the Houſe of Peers, in the compaſs of a very few hours, by the well-known ſagacity and penetration of a noble Lord, who, happily for the ſubjects of both countries, holds the firſt office in the law; and ſo judicious was the ſentence, that harmony, mutual confidence, and good neighbourhood has ever ſince been the conſequence of that determination.

OTHER ſuits ſtill remained, which unfortunately were not arrived to the degree of maturity to be ſo cut off; they are yet depending; patience and attention, it is hoped, may bring them to an iſſue at ſome future time. No imputation of raſhneſs can poſſibly fall upon the decree, ſince the action has depended above thirty years.

To theſe diſagreeable avocations, which took up much time, were added others ſtill more unfortunate. The relentleſs ague caught at Bengazi maintained its ground at times for a ſpace of more than ſixteen years, though every remedy had been uſed, but in vain; and, what was worſt of all, a lingering diſtemper had ſeriouſly threatened the life of a moſt near relation, which, after nine years conſtant alarm, where every duty bound me to attention and attend-

ance, conducted her at laſt, in very early life, to her grave *.

The love of ſolitude is the conſtant follower of affliction; this again naturally turns an inſtructed mind to ſtudy. My friends unanimouſly aſſailed me in the part moſt acceſſible when the ſpirits are weak, which is vanity. They repreſented to me how ignoble it was, after all my dangers and difficulties were over, to be conquered by a misfortune incident to all men, the indulging of which was unreaſonable in itſelf, fruitleſs in its conſequences, and ſo unlike the expectation I had given my country, by the firmneſs and intrepidity of my former character and behaviour. Among theſe, the principal and moſt urgent was a gentleman well known to the literary world, in which he holds a rank nearly as diſtinguiſhed as that to which his virtues entitle him in civil life; this was the Hon. Daines Barrington, whoſe friendſhip, valuable on every account, had this additional merit, that it had exiſted uninterrupted ſince the days we were at ſchool. It is to this gentleman's perſuaſions, aſſiſtance, protection, and friendſhip, that the world owes this publication, if indeed there is any merit in it; at leaſt, they are certainly indebted to him for the opportunity of judging whether there is any merit in it or not.

No great time has paſſed ſince the work was in hand. The materials collected upon the ſpot were very full, and ſeldom deferred to be ſet down beyond the day wherein the events deſcribed happened, but oftner, when ſpeeches

* Mrs Bruce died in 1784.

and arguments were to be mentioned, they were noted the inſtant afterwards; for, contrary I believe to what is often the caſe, I can aſſure the reader theſe ſpeeches and converſations are abſolutely real, and not the fabrication of after-hours.

It will perhaps be ſaid, this work hath faults; nay, perhaps, great ones too, and this I readily confeſs. But I muſt likewiſe beg leave to ſay, that I know no books of the kind that have not nearly as many, and as great, though perhaps not of the ſame kind with mine. To ſee diſtinctly and accurately, to deſcribe plainly, diſpaſſionately and truly, is all that ought to be expected from one in my ſituation, conſtantly ſurrounded with every ſort of difficulty and danger.

It may be ſaid, too, there are faults in the language; more pains ſhould have been taken. Perhaps it may be ſo; yet there has not been wanting a conſiderable degree of attention even to this. I have not indeed confined myſelf to a painful and ſlaviſh nicety that would have produced nothing but a diſagreeable ſtiffneſs in the narrative. It will be remembered likewiſe, that one of the motives of my writing is my own amuſement, and I would much rather renounce the ſubject altogether than walk in fetters of my own forging. The language is, like the ſubject, rude and manly. My paths have not been flowery ones, nor would it have added any credit to the work, or entertainment to the reader, to employ in it a ſtile proper only to works of imagination and pleaſure. Theſe trifling faults I willingly leave as food to the malice of critics, who perhaps,

haps, were it not for theſe blemiſhes, would find no other enjoyment in the peruſal of the work.

It has been ſaid that parties have been formed againſt this work. Whether this is really the caſe I cannot ſay, nor have I ever been very anxious in the inquiry. They have been harmleſs adverſaries at leaſt, for no bad effects, as far as I know, have ever as yet been the conſequences; neither is it a diſquiſition that I ſhall ever enter into, whether this is owing to the want of will or of power. I rather believe it is to the former, the want of will, for no one is ſo perfectly inconſiderable, as to want the power of doing miſchief.

Having now fulfilled my promiſe to the reader, in giving him the motive and order of my travels, and the reaſon why the publication has been delayed, I ſhall proceed to the laſt article promiſed, the giving ſome account of the work itſelf. The book is a large one, and expenſive by the number of engravings; this was not at firſt intended, but the journey has proved a long one, and matter has increaſed as it were inſenſibly under my hands. It is now come to fill a great chaſm in the hiſtory of the univerſe. It is not intended to reſemble the generality of modern travels, the agreeable and rational amuſement of one vacant day, it is calculated to employ a greater ſpace of time.

Those that are the beſt acquainted with Diodorus, Herodotus, and ſome other Greek hiſtorians, will find ſome very conſiderable difficulties removed; and they that are unacquainted with theſe authors, and receive from this work the firſt information of the geography, climate, and manners of theſe countries, which are little altered, will have no great

occaſion to regret they have not ſearched for information in more ancient ſources.

The work begins with my voyage from Sidon to Alexandria, and up the Nile to the firſt cataract. The reader will not expect that I ſhould dwell long upon the particular hiſtory of Egypt; every other year has furniſhed us with ſome account of it, good or bad; and the two laſt publications of M. Savary and Volney ſeem to have left the ſubject thread-bare. This, however, is not the only reaſon.

After Mr Wood and Mr Dawkins had publiſhed their Ruins of Palmyra, the late king of Denmark, at his own expence, ſent out a number of men, eminent in their ſeveral profeſſions, to make diſcoveries in the eaſt, of every kind, with theſe very flattering inſtructions, that though they might, and ought, to viſit both Baalbec and Palmyra for their own ſtudies and improvement, yet he prohibited them to ſo far interfere with what the Engliſh travellers had done, as to form any plan of another work ſimilar to theirs. This compliment was gratefully received; and, as I was directly to follow this miſſion, Mr Wood deſired me to return it, and to abſtain as much as poſſible from writing on the ſame ſubjects choſen by M. Niebuhr, at leaſt to abſtain either from criticiſing or differing from him on ſuch ſubjects. I have therefore paſſed ſlightly over Egypt and Arabia; perhaps, indeed, I have ſaid enough of both: if any ſhall be of another opinion, they may have recourſe to M. Niebuhr's more copious work; he was the only perſon of ſix who lived to come home, the reſt having died in different parts of Arabia, without having been able to enter Abyſſinia, one of the objects of their miſſion.

My

My leaving Egypt is followed by my ſurvey of the Arabian gulf as far as the Indian Ocean—Arrival at Maſuah —Some account of the firſt peopling of Atbara and Abyſſinia —Conjectures concerning language—Firſt ages of the Indian trade—Foundation of the Abyſſinian monarchy, and various revolutions till the Jewiſh uſurpation about the year 900. Theſe compoſe the firſt volume.

The ſecond begins with the reſtoration of the line of Solomon, compiled from their own annals, now firſt tranſlated from the Ethiopic; the original of which has been lodged in the Britiſh Muſeum, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the public.

The third comprehends my journey from Maſuah to Gondar, and the manners and cuſtoms of the Abyſſinians, alſo two attempts to arrive at the fountains of the Nile—Deſcription of theſe ſources, and of every thing relating to that river and its inundation.

The fourth contains my return from the ſource of the Nile to Gondar—The campaign of Serbraxos, and revolution that followed—My return through Sennaar and Beja, or the Nubian deſert, and my arrival at Marſeilles.

In overlooking the work I have found one circumſtance, and I think no more, which is not ſufficiently clear, and may create a momentary doubt in the reader's mind, although to thoſe who have been ſufficiently attentive to the narrative, I can ſcarce think it will do this. The difficulty is, How did you procure funds to ſupport yourſelf, and

and ten men, ſo long, and ſo eaſily, as to enable you to undervalue the uſeful character of a phyſician, and ſeek neither to draw money nor protection from it? And how came it, that, contrary to the uſage of other travellers, at Gondar you maintained a character of independence and equality, eſpecially at court; inſtead of crouching, living out of ſight as much as poſſible, in continual fear of prieſts, under the patronage, or rather as ſervant to ſome men of power.

To this ſenſible and well-founded doubt I anſwer with great pleaſure and readineſs, as I would do to all others of the ſame kind, if I could poſſibly divine them:—It is not at all extraordinary that a ſtranger like me, and a parcel of vagabonds like thoſe that were with me, ſhould get themſelves maintained, and find at Gondar a precarious livelihood for a limited time. A mind ever ſo little poliſhed and inſtructed has infinite ſuperiority over Barbarians, and it is in circumſtances like theſe that a man ſees the great advantages of education. All the Greeks in Gondar were originally criminals and vagabonds; they neither had, nor pretended to any profeſſion, except Petros the king's chamberlain, who had been a ſhoemaker at Rhodes, which profeſſion at his arrival he carefully concealed. Yet theſe were not only maintained, but by degrees, and without pretending to be phyſicians, obtained property, commands, and places.

Hospitality is the virtue of Barbarians, who are hoſpitable in the ratio that they are barbarous, and for obvious reaſons this virtue ſubſides among poliſhed nations in the ſame proportion. If on my arrival in Abyſſinia I aſſumed

a ſpirit of independence, it was from policy and reflection. I had often thought that the misfortunes which had befallen other travellers in Abyſſinia aroſe from the baſe eſtimation the people in general entertained of their rank, and the value of their perſons. From this idea I reſolved to adopt a contrary behaviour. I was going to a court where there was a *king of kings*, whoſe throne was ſurrounded by a number of high-minded, proud, hereditary, punctilious nobility. It was impoſſible, therefore, too much lowlineſs and humility could pleaſe there.

Mr Murray, the ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, in the firman obtained from the grand ſignior, had qualified me with the diſtinction of Bey-Adzè, which means, not an Engliſh nobleman (a peer) but a noble Engliſhman, and he had added likewiſe, that I was a ſervant of the king of Great Britain. All the letters of recommendation, very many and powerful, from Cairo and Jidda, had conſtantly echoed this to every part to which they were addreſſed. They announced that I was not a man, ſuch as ordinarily came to them, to live upon their charity, but had ample means of my own, and each profeſſed himſelf guarrantee of that fact, and that they themſelves on all occaſions were ready to provide for me, by anſwering my demands.

The only requeſt of theſe letters was ſafety and protection to my perſon. It was mentioned that I was a phyſician, to introduce a conciliatory circumſtance, that I was above practiſing for gain. That all I did was from the fear of God, from charity, and the love of mankind. I was a phyſician in the city, a ſoldier in the field, a courtier every where, demeaning myſelf, as conſcious that I was not unworthy

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of being a companion to the firſt of their nobility, and the king's ſtranger and gueſt, which is there a character, as it was with eaſtern nations of old, to which a certain ſort of conſideration is due. It was in vain to compare myſelf with them in any kind of learning, as they have none; muſic they have as little; in eating and drinking they were indeed infinitely my ſuperiors; but in one accompliſhment that came naturally into compariſon, which was horſemanſhip, I ſtudiouſly eſtabliſhed my ſuperiority.

My long reſidence among the Arabs had given me more than ordinary facility in managing the horſe; I had brought my own ſaddle and bridle with me, and, as the reader will find, bought my horſe of the Baharnagaſh in the firſt days of my journey, ſuch a one as was neceſſary to carry me, and him I trained carefully, and ſtudied from the beginning. The Abyſſinians, as the reader will hereafter ſee, are the worſt horſemen in the world. Their horſes are bad, not equal to our Welſh or our Scotch galloways. Their furniture is worſe. They know not the uſe of fire-arms on horſeback; they had never ſeen a double-barrelled gun, nor did they know that its effect was limited to two diſcharges, but that it might have been fired on to infinity. All this gave me an evident ſuperiority.

To this I may add, that, being in the prime of life, of no ungracious figure, having an accidental knack, which is not a trifle, of putting on the dreſs, and ſpeaking the language eaſily and gracefully, I cultivated with the utmoſt aſſiduity the friendſhip of the fair ſex, by the moſt modeſt, reſpectful diſtant attendance, and obſequiouſneſs in public,

abating juſt as much of that in private as ſuited their humour and inclinations. I ſoon acquired a great ſupport from theſe at court; jealouſy is not a paſſion of the Abyſſinians, who are in the contrary extreme, even to indifference.

Besides the money I had with me, I had a credit of L.400 upon Youſef Cabil, governor of Jidda. I had another upon a Turkiſh merchant there. I had ſtrong and general recommendations, if I ſhould want ſupplies, upon Metical Aga, firſt miniſter to the ſherriffe of Mecca. This, well managed, was enough; but when I met my countrymen, the captains of the Engliſh ſhips from India, they added additional ſtrength to my finances; they would have poured gold upon me to facilitate a journey they ſo much deſired upon ſeveral accounts. Captain Thornhill of the Bengal Merchant, and Captain Thomas Price of the Lion, took the conduct of my money-affairs under their direction. Their Saraf, or broker, had in his hands all the commerce that produced the revenues of Abyſſinia, together with great part of the correſpondence of the eaſt; and, by a lucky accident for me, Captain Price ſtaid all winter with the Lion at Jidda; nay, ſo kind and anxious was he as to ſend over a ſervant from Jidda on purpoſe, upon a report having been raiſed that I was ſlain by the uſurper Socinios, though it was only one of my ſervants, and the ſervant of Metical Aga, who were murdered by that monſter, as is ſaid, with his own hand. Twice he ſent over ſilver to me when I had plenty of gold, and wanted that metal only to apply it in furniture and workmanſhip. I do not pretend to ſay but ſometimes theſe ſupplies failed me, often by my negligence

in not applying in proper time, ſometimes by the abſence of merchants, who were all Mahometans, conſtantly engaged in buſineſs and in journies, and more eſpecially on the king's retiring to Tigré, after the battle of Limjour, when I was abandoned during the uſurpation of the unworthy Socinios. It was then I had recourſe to Petros and the Greeks, but more for their convenience than my own, and very ſeldom from neceſſity. This opulence enabled me to treat upon equal footing, to do favours as well as to receive them.

Every mountebank-trick was a great accompliſhment there, ſuch as making ſquibs, crackers, and rockets. There was no ſtation in the country to which by theſe accompliſhments I might not have pretended, had I been mad enough to have ever directed my thoughts that way; and I am certain, that in vain I might have ſolicited leave to return, had not a melancholy deſpondency, the *amor patriæ*, ſeized me, and my health ſo far declined as apparently to threaten death; but I was not even then permitted to leave Abyſſinia till under a very ſolemn oath I promiſed to return.

This manner of conducting myſelf had likewiſe its diſadvantages. The reader will ſee the times, without their being pointed out to him, in the courſe of the narrative. It had very near occaſioned me to be murdered at Maſuah, but it was the means of preſerving me at Gondar, by putting me above being inſulted or queſtioned by prieſts, the fatal rock upon which all other European travellers had ſplit: It would have occaſioned my death at Sennaar, had I not been ſo prudent as to diſguiſe and lay aſide the independent carriage

riage in time. Why ſhould I not now ſpeak as I really think, or why be guilty of ingratitude which my heart diſclaims. I eſcaped by the providence and protection of heaven; and ſo little ſtore do I ſet upon the advantage of my own experience, that I am ſatisfied, were I to attempt the ſame journey again, it would not avail me a ſtraw, or hinder me from periſhing miſerably, as others have done, though perhaps a different way.

I HAVE only to add, that were it probable, as in my decayed ſtate of health it is not, that I ſhould live to ſee a ſecond edition of this work, all well-founded, judicious remarks ſuggeſted ſhould be gratefully and carefully attended to; but I do ſolemnly declare to the public in general, that I never will refute or anſwer any cavils, captious, or idle objections, ſuch as every new publication ſeems unavoidably to give birth to, nor ever reply to thoſe witticiſms and criticiſms that appear in newſpapers and periodical writings. What I have written I have written. My readers have before them, in the preſent volumes, all that I ſhall ever ſay, directly or indirectly, upon the ſubject; and I do, without one moment's anxiety, truſt my defence to an impartial, well-informed, and judicious public.

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TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK I.

THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS IN EGYPT—VOYAGE IN THE RED SEA, TILL HIS ARRIVAL AT MASUAH.

CHAP. I.

The Author ſails from Sidon—Touches at Cyprus—Arrives at Alexandria—Sets out for Roſetto—Embarks on the Nile—and arrives at Cairo.

IT was on Saturday the 15th of June, 1768, I ſailed in a French veſſel from Sidon, once the richeſt and moſt powerful city in the world, though now there is not remaining a ſhadow of its ancient grandeur. We were bound for the iſland of Cyprus; the weather clear and exceedingly hot, the wind favourable.

This iſland is not in our courſe for Alexandria, but lies to the northward of it; nor had I, for my own part, any curioſity to ſee it. My mind was intent upon more uncommon, more diſtant, and more painful voyages. But the maſter of the veſſel had buſineſs of his own which led him thither; with this I the more readily complied, as we had not yet got certain advice that the plague had ceaſed in Egypt, and it ſtill wanted ſome days to the Feſtival of St John, which is ſuppoſed to put a period to that cruel diſtemper *.

We obſerved a number of thin, white clouds, moving with great rapidity from ſouth to north, in direct oppoſition to the courſe of the Eteſian winds; theſe were immenſely high. It was evident they came from the mountains of Abyſſinia, where, having diſcharged their weight of rain, and being preſſed by the lower current of heavier air from the northward, they had mounted to poſſeſs the vacuum, and returned to reſtore the equilibrium to the northward, whence they were to come back, loaded with vapour from Mount Taurus, to occaſion the overflowing of the Nile, by breaking againſt the high and rugged mountains of the ſouth.

Nothing could be more agreeable to me than that ſight, and the reaſoning upon it. I already, with pleaſure, anticipated the time in which I ſhould be a ſpectator firſt, afterwards hiſtorian, of this phænomenon, hitherto a myſtery through all ages. I exulted in the meaſures I had taken, which I flattered myſelf, from having been digeſted with greater conſideration than thoſe adopted by others, would ſecure

* The nucta, or dew, that falls on St John's night, is ſuppoſed to have the virtue to ſtop the plague. I have conſidered this in the ſequel.

ſecure me from the melancholy cataſtrophes that had terminated theſe hitherto-unſucceſsful attempts.

On the 16th, at dawn of day, I ſaw a high hill, which, from its particular form, deſcribed by Strabo *, I took for Mount Olympus †. Soon after, the reſt of the iſland, which ſeemed low, appeared in view. We ſcarce ſaw Lernica till we anchored before it. It is built of white clay, of the ſame colour as the ground, preciſely as is the caſe with Damaſcus, ſo that you cannot, till cloſe to it, diſtinguiſh the houſes from the earth they ſtand upon.

It is very remarkable that Cyprus was ſo long undiſcovered ‡; ſhips had been uſed in the Mediterranean 1700 years before Chriſt; yet, though only a day's ſailing from the continent of Aſia on the north and eaſt, and little more from that of Africa on the ſouth, it was not known at the building of Tyre, a little before the Trojan war, that is 500 years after ſhips had been paſſing to and fro in the ſeas around it.

It was, at its diſcovery, thick covered with wood; and what leads me to believe it was not well known, even ſo late as the building of Solomon's Temple, is, that we do not find that Hiram king of Tyre, juſt in its neighbourhood, ever had recourſe to it for wood, though ſurely the carriage would have been eaſier than to have brought it down from the top of Mount Libanus.

* Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 781. † It is called Mamilho. ‡ Newton's Chronol. p. 183.

That there was great abundance in it, we know from Eratoſthenes*, who tells us it was ſo overgrown that it could not be tilled; ſo that they firſt cut down the timber to be uſed in the furnaces for melting ſilver and copper; that after this they built fleets with it, and when they could not even deſtroy it this way, they gave liberty to all ſtrangers to cut it down for whatever uſe they pleaſed; and not only ſo, but they gave them the property of the ground they cleared.

Things are ſadly changed now. Wood is one of the wants of moſt parts of the iſland, which has not become more healthy by being cleared, as is ordinarily the caſe.

At † Cacamo (Acamas) on the weſt ſide of the iſland, the wood remains thick and impervious as at the firſt diſcovery. Large ſtags, and wild boars of a monſtrous ſize, ſhelter themſelves unmoleſted in theſe their native woods; and it depended only upon the portion of credulity that I was endowed with, that I did not believe that an elephant had, not many years ago, been ſeen alive there. Several families of Greeks declared it to me upon oath; nor were there wanting perſons of that nation at Alexandria, who laboured to confirm the aſſertion. Had ſkeletons of that animal been there, I ſhould have thought them antediluvian ones. I know none could have been at Cyprus, unleſs in the time of Darius Ochus, and I do not remember that there were elephants even with him.

In

* Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 684. † Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 780.

In paſſing, I would fain have gone aſhore to ſee if there were any remains of the celebrated temple of Paphos; but a voyage, ſuch as I was then embarked on, ſtood in need of vows to Hercules rather than to Venus, and the maſter, fearing to loſe his paſſage, determined to proceed.

Many medals (ſcarce any of them good) are dug up in Cyprus; ſilver ones, of very excellent workmanſhip, are found near Paphos, of little value in the eyes of antiquarians, being chiefly of towns of the ſize of thoſe found at Crete and Rhodes, and all the iſlands of the Archipelago. Intaglios there are ſome few, part in very excellent Greek ſtyle, and generally upon better ſtones than uſual in the iſlands. I have ſeen ſome heads of Jupiter, remarkable for buſhy hair and beard, that were of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, worthy of any price. All the inhabitants of the iſland are ſubject to fevers, but more eſpecially thoſe in the neighbourhood of Paphos.

We left Lernica the 17th of June, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The day had been very cloudy, with a wind at N. E. which freſhened as we got under weigh. Our maſter, a ſeaman of experience upon that coaſt, ran before it to the weſtward with all the ſails he could ſet. Truſting to a ſign that he ſaw, which he called a bank, reſembling a dark cloud in the horizon, he gueſſed the wind was to be from that quarter the next day.

Accordingly, on the 18th, a little before twelve o'clock, a very freſh and favourable breeze came from the N. W. and we pointed our prow directly, as we thought, upon Alexandria.

The coaſt of Egypt is exceedingly low, and, if the weather is not clear, you often are cloſe in with the land before you diſcover it.

A strong current ſets conſtantly to the eaſtward; and the way the maſters of veſſels pretend to know their approach to the coaſt is by a black mud, which they find upon the plummet* at the end of their ſounding-line, about ſeven leagues diſtant from land.

Our maſter pretended at midnight he had found that black ſand, and therefore, although the wind was very fair, he choſe to lie to, till morning, as thinking himſelf near the coaſt; although his reckoning, as he ſaid, did not agree with what he inferred from his ſoundings.

As I was exceedingly vexed at being ſo diſappointed of making the beſt of our favourable wind, I rectified my quadrant, and found by the paſſages of two ſtars over the meridian, that we were in lat. 32° 1′ 45″, or ſeventeen leagues diſtant from Alexandria, inſtead of ſeven, and that by difference of our latitude only.

From this I inferred that part of the aſſertion, that it is the mud of the Nile which is ſuppoſed to ſhew ſeamen their approach to Egypt, is mere imagination; ſeeing that the point where we then were was really part of the ſea oppoſite to the deſert of Barca, and had no communication whatever with the Nile.

* This is an old prejudice. See Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 90. ſect. 5.

On the contrary, the Eteſian winds blowing all Summer upon that coaſt, from the weſtward of north, and a current ſetting conſtantly to the eaſtward, it is impoſſible that any part of the mud of the Nile can go ſo high to the windward of any of the mouths of that river.

It is well known, that the action of theſe winds, and the conſtancy of that current, has thrown a great quantity of mud, gravel, and ſand, into all the ports on the coaſt of Syria.

All veſtiges of old Tyre are defaced; the ports of Sidon, *Berout, Tripoli, and †Latikea, are all filled up by the accretion of ſand; and, not many days before my leaving Sidon, Mr de Clerambaut, conſul of France, ſhewed me the pavements of the old city of Sidon, 7½ feet lower than the ground upon which the preſent city ſtands, and conſiderably farther back in the gardens nearer to Mount Libanus.

This every one in the country knows is the effect of that eaſterly current ſetting upon the coaſt, which, as it acts perpendicularly to the courſe of the Nile when diſcharging itſelf, at all or any of its mouths, into the Mediterranean, muſt hurry what it is charged with on towards the coaſt of Syria, and hinder it from ſettling oppoſite to, or making thoſe additions to the land of Egypt, which ‡ Herodotus has vainly ſuppoſed.

The 20th of June, early in the morning, we had a diſtant proſpect of Alexandria riſing from the ſea. Was not the ſtate of

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* Berytus. † Laodicea ad mare. ‡ Herod. lib. ii. p. 90.

of that city perfectly known, a traveller in ſearch of antiquities in architecture would think here was a field for long ſtudy and employment.

It is in this point of view the town appears moſt to the advantage. The mixture of old monuments, ſuch as the Column of Pompey, with the high mooriſh towers and ſteeples, raiſe our expectations of the conſequence of the ruins we are to find.

But the moment we are in the port the illuſion ends, and we diſtinguiſh the immenſe Herculean works of ancient times, now few in number, from the ill-imagined, ill-conſtructed, and imperfect buildings, of the ſeveral barbarous maſters of Alexandria in later ages.

There are two ports, the Old and the New. The entrance into the latter is both difficult and dangerous, having a bar before it; it is the leaſt of the two, though it is what is called the Great Port, by *Strabo.

Here only the European ſhips can lie; and, even when here, they are not in ſafety; as numbers of veſſels are conſtantly loſt, though at anchor.

Above forty were caſt a-ſhore and daſhed to pieces in March 1773, when I was on my return home, moſtly belonging to Raguſa, and the ſmall ports in Provence, while little harm was done to ſhips of any nation accuſtomed to the ocean.

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* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 922.

It was curious to obſerve the different procedure of theſe different nations upon the ſame accident. As ſoon as the ſquall began to become violent, the maſters of the Raguſan veſſels, and the French caravaneurs, or veſſels trading in the *Mediterraneau*, after having put out every anchor and cable they had, took to their boats and fled to the neareſt ſhore, leaving the veſſels to their chance in the ſtorm. They knew *the furniture* of their ſhips to be too flimſy to truſt their lives to it.

Many of their cables being made of a kind of graſs called Spartum, could not bear the ſtreſs of the veſſels or agitation of the waves, but parted with the anchors, and the ſhips periſhed.

On the other hand, the Britiſh, Daniſh, Swediſh, and Dutch navigators of the *ocean*, no ſooner ſaw the ſtorm beginning, than they left their houſes, took to their boats, and went all hands on board. Theſe knew the ſufficiency of their tackle, and provided they were preſent, to obviate unforeſeen accidents, they had no apprehenſion from the weather. They knew that their cables were made of good hemp, that their anchors were heavy and ſtrong. Some pointed their yards to the wind, and others lowered them upon deck. Afterwards they walked to and fro on their quarter-deck with perfect compoſure, and bade defiance to the ſtorm. Not one man of theſe ſtirred from the ſhips, till calm weather, on the morrow, called upon them to aſſiſt their feeble and more unfortunate brethren, whoſe ſhips were wrecked and lay ſcattered on the ſhore.

THE other port is the *Eunoſtus of the ancients, and is to the weſtward of the Pharos. It was called alſo the Port of Africa; is much larger than the former, and lies immediately under part of the town of Alexandria. It has much deeper water, though a multitude of ſhips have every day, for ages, been throwing a quantity of ballaſt into it; and there is no doubt, but in time it will be filled up, and joined to the continent by this means. And poſterity may, probably, following the ſyſtem of Herodotus (if it ſhould be ſtill faſhionable) call this as they have done the reſt of Egypt, *the Gift of the Nile*.

CHRISTIAN veſſels are not ſuffered to enter this port; the only reaſon is, leaſt the *Mooriſh women* ſhould be ſeen taking the air in the evening at open windows; and this has been thought to be of weight enough for Chriſtian powers to ſubmit to it, and to over-balance the conſtant loſs of ſhips, property, and men.

†ALEXANDER, returning to Egypt from the Libyan ſide, was ſtruck with the beauty and ſituation of theſe two ports. ‡Dinochares, an architect who accompanied him, traced out the plan, and Ptolemy I. built the city.

THE healthy, though deſolate and bare country round it, part of the Deſert of Libya, was another inducement to prefer this ſituation to the unwholeſome black mud of Egypt; but it had no water; this Ptolemy was obliged to bring far above

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* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 922. † Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 920. Q. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 8.
‡ Plin. lib. v. cap. 10. p. 273.

above from the Nile, by a caliſh, or canal, vulgarly called the Canal of Cleopatra, though it was certainly coeval with the foundation of the city; it has no other name at this day.

This circumſtance, however, remedied in the beginning, was fatal to the city's magnificence ever after, and the cauſe of its being in the ſtate it is at this day.

The importance of its ſituation to trade and commerce, made it a principal object of attention to each party in every war. It was eaſily taken, becauſe it had no water; and, as it could not be kept, it was deſtroyed by the conqueror, that the temporary poſſeſſion of it might not turn to be a ſource of advantage to an enemy.

We are not, however, to ſuppoſe, that the country all around it was as bare in the days of proſperity as it is now. Population, we ſee, produces a ſwerd of graſs round ancient cities in the moſt deſert parts of Africa, which keeps the ſand immoveable till the place is no longer inhabited.

I apprehend the numerous lakes in Egypt were all contrived as reſervoirs to lay up a ſtore of water for ſupplying gardens and plantations in the months of the Nile's decreaſe. The great effects of a very little water are ſeen along the caliſh, or canal, in a number of buſhes that it produces, and thick plantations of date-trees, all in a very luxuriant ſtate; and this, no doubt, in the days of the Ptolemies, was extended further, more attended to, and better underſtood.

POMPEY's pillar, the obeliſks, and ſubterraneous ciſterns, are all the antiquities we find now in Alexandria; theſe have been deſcribed frequently, ably, and minutely.

THE foliage and capital of the pillar are what ſeem generally to diſpleaſe; the fuſt is thought to have merited more attention than has been beſtowed upon the capital.

THE whole of the pillar is granite, but the capital is of another ſtone; and I ſhould ſuſpect thoſe rudiments of leaves were only intended to ſupport firmly leaves of metal* of better workmanſhip; for the capital itſelf is near nine feet high, and the work, in proportionable leaves of ſtone, would be not only very large, but, after being finiſhed, liable to injuries.

THIS magnificent monument appears, in taſte, to be the work of that period, between Hadrian and Severus; but, though the former erected ſeveral large buildings in the eaſt, it is obſerved of him he never put inſcriptions upon them.

THIS has had a Greek inſcription, and I think may very probably be attributed to the time of the latter, as a monument of the gratitude of the city of Alexandria for the benefits he conferred on them, eſpecially ſince no ancient hiſtory mentions its exiſtence at an earlier period.

I APPREHEND it to have been brought in a block from the Thebais in Upper Egypt, by the Nile; though ſome have imagined

* We ſee many examples of ſuch leaves both at Palmyra and Baalbec.

imagined it was an old obeliſk, hewn to that round form. It is nine feet diameter; and were it but 80 feet high, it would require a prodigious obeliſk indeed, that could admit to be hewn to this circumference for ſuch a length, ſo as perfectly to efface the hieroglyphics that muſt have been very deeply cut in the four faces of it.

The tomb of Alexander has been talked of as one of the antiquities of this city. Marmol * ſays he ſaw it in the year 1546. It was, according to him, a ſmall houſe, in form of a chapel, in the middle of the city, near the church of St Mark, and was called Eſcander.

The thing itſelf is not probable, for all thoſe that made themſelves maſters of Alexandria, in the earlieſt times, had too much reſpect for Alexander, to have reduced his tomb to ſo obſcure a ſtate. It would have been ſpared even by the Saracens; for Mahomet ſpeaks of Alexander with great reſpect, both as a king and a prophet. The body was preſerved in a glaſs coffin, in † Strabo's time, having been robbed of the golden one in which it was firſt depoſited.

The Greeks, for the moſt part, are better inſtructed in the hiſtory of theſe places than the Cophts, Turks, or Chriſtians; and, after the Greeks, the Jews.

As I was perfectly diſguiſed, having for many years worn the dreſs of the Arabs, I was under no conſtraint, but walked through the town in all directions, accompanied by any of thoſe

* Marmol, lib. xi. cap. 14. p. 276. tom. 3.

† Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 922.

thoſe different nations I could induce to walk with me; and, as I conſtantly ſpoke Arabic, was taken for a * Bedowé by all ſorts of people; but, notwithſtanding the advantage this freedom gave me, and of which I daily availed myſelf, I never could hear a word of this monument from either Greek, Jew, Moor, or Chriſtian.

Alexandria has been often taken ſince the time of Cæſar. It was at laſt deſtroyed by the Venetians and Cypriots, upon, or rather after the releaſe of St Lewis, and we may ſay of it as of Carthage, *Periêre ruinæ*, its very ruins appear no longer.

The building of the preſent gates and walls, which ſome have thought to be antique, does not ſeem earlier than the laſt reſtoration in the 13th century. Some parts of the gate and walls may be of older date; (and probably were thoſe of the laſt Caliphs before Salidan) but, except theſe, and the pieces of columns which lie horizontally in different parts of the wall, every thing elſe is apparently of very late times, and the work has been huddled together in great haſte.

It is in vain then to expect a plan of the city, or try to trace here the Macedonian mantle of Dinocrates; the very veſtiges of ancient ruins are covered, many yards deep, by rubbiſh, the remnant of the devaſtations of later times. Cleopatra, were ſhe to return to life again, would ſcarcely know where her palace was ſituated, in this her own capital.

There

* A peaſant Arab.

THERE is nothing beautiful or pleaſant in the preſent Alexandria, but a handſome ſtreet of modern houſes, where a very active and intelligent number of merchants live upon the miſerable remnants of that trade, which made its glory in the firſt times.

IT is thinly inhabited, and there is a tradition among the natives, that, more than once, it has been in agitation to abandon it all together, and retire to Roſetto, or Cairo, but that they have been withheld by the opinion of divers ſaints from Arabia, who have aſſured them, that Mecca being deſtroyed, (as it muſt be as they think by the Ruſſians) Alexandria is then to become *the holy place*, and that Mahomet's body is to be tranſported thither; when that city is deſtroyed, the ſanctified reliques are to be tranſported to Cairouan, in the kingdom of Tunis: laſtly, from Cairouan they are to come to Roſetto, and there to remain till the conſummation of all things, which is not then to be at a great diſtance.

PTOLEMY places his Alexandria in lat. 30° 31′ and in round numbers in his almageſt, lat. 31° north.

OUR Profeſſor, Mr Greaves, one of whoſe errands into Egypt was to aſcertain the latitude of this place, ſeems yet, from ſome cauſe or other, to have failed in it, for though he had a braſs ſextant of five feet radius, he makes the latitude of Alexandria, from a mean of many obſervations, to be lat 31° 4′ N. whereas the French aſtronomers from the Academy of Sciences have ſettled it at 31° 11′ 20″, ſo between Mr Greaves and the French there is a difference of 7′ 20″, which is too much. There is not any thing, in point of ſituation,

ſituation, that can account for this variance, as in the caſe of Ptolemy; for the new town of Alexandria is built from eaſt to weſt; and as all chriſtian travellers neceſſarily make their obſervations now on the ſame line, there cannot poſſibly be any difference from ſituation.

Mr Niebuhr, whether from one or more obſervations he does not ſay, makes the latitude to be 31° 12′. From a mean of thirty-three obſervations, taken by the three-feet quadrant I have ſpoken of, I found it to be 31° 11′ 16″: So that, taking a medium of theſe three reſults, you will have the latitude of Alexandria 31° 11′ 32″, or, in round number, 31° 11′ 30″, nor do I think there poſſibly can be 5″ difference.

By an eclipſe, moreover, of the firſt ſatellite of Jupiter, obſerved on the 23d day of June 1769, I found its longitude to be 30° 17′ 30″ eaſt, from the meridian of Greenwich.

We arrived at Alexandria the 20th of June, and found that the plague had raged in that city and neighbourhood from the beginning of March, and that two days only before our arrival people had begun to open their houſes and communicate with each other; but it was no matter, St John's day was *paſt*, the miraculous nucta, or dew, had fallen, and every body went about their ordinary buſineſs in ſafety, and without fear.

With very great pleaſure I had received my inſtruments at Alexandria. I examined them, and, by the perfect ſtate in which they arrived, knew the obligations I was under

to

to my correſpondents and friends. Prepared now for any enterpriſe, I left with eagerneſs the thread-bare inquiries into the meagre remains, of this once-famous capital of Egypt.

The journey to Roſetto is always performed by land, as the mouth of the branch of the Nile leading to Roſetto, called the Bogaz*, is very ſhallow and dangerous to paſs, and often tedious; beſides, nobody wiſhes to be a partner for any time in a voyage with Egyptian ſailors, if he can poſſibly avoid it.

The journey by land is alſo reputed dangerous, and people travel burdened with arms, which they are determined never to uſe.

For my part, I placed my ſafety, in my diſguiſe, and my behaviour. We had all of us piſtols at our girdles, againſt an extremity; but our fire-arms of a larger ſort, of which we had great ſtore, were ſent with our baggage, and other inſtruments, by the Bogaz to Roſetto. I had a ſmall lance, called a Jerid, in my hand, my ſervants were without any viſible arms.

We left Alexandria in the afternoon, and about three miles before arriving at Aboukeer, we met a man, in appearance of ſome conſequence, going to Alexandria.

* Means a narrow or ſhallow entrance of a river from the ocean.

As we had no fear of him or his party, we neither courted nor avoided them. We paſſed near enough, however, to give them the uſual ſalute, *Salam Alicum;* to which the leader of the troop gave no anſwer, but ſaid to one of his ſervants, as in contempt, Bedowé! they are peaſants, or country Arabs. I was much better pleaſed with this token that we had deceived them, than if they had returned the ſalute twenty times.

Some inconſiderable ruins are at Aboukeer, and ſeem to denote, that it was the former ſituation of an ancient city. There is here alſo an inlet of the ſea; and the diſtance, ſomething leſs than four leagues from Alexandria, warrants us to ſay that it is Canopus, one of the moſt ancient cities in the world; its ruins, notwithſtanding the neighbourhood of the branch of the Nile, which goes by that name, have not yet been covered by the increaſe of the land of Egypt.

At Medea, which we ſuppoſe, by its diſtance of near ſeven leagues, to be the ancient Heraclium, is the paſſage or ferry which terminates the fear of danger from the Arabs of Libya; and it is here *ſuppoſed the Delta, or Egypt, begins.

Dr Shaw† is obliged to confeſs, that between Alexandria and the Canopic branch of the Nile, few or no *veſtiges* are ſeen of the increaſe of the land by the inundation of the river; indeed it would have been a wonder if there had.

Alexandria,

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*Herod. p. 108. †Shaw's Travels p. 293.

Alexandria, and its environs, are part of the deſert of Barca, too high to have ever been overflowed by the Nile, from any part of its lower branches; or elſe there would have been no neceſſity for going ſo high up as above Roſetto, to get level enough, to bring water down to Alexandria by the canal.

Dr Shaw adds, that the ground hereabout may have been an iſland; and ſo it may, and ſo may almoſt any other place in the world; but there is no ſort of indication that it was ſo, nor viſible means by which it was formed.

We ſaw no vegetable from Alexandria to Medea, excepting ſome ſcattered roots of Abſinthium; nor were theſe luxuriant, or promiſing to thrive, but though they had not a very ſtrong ſmell, they were abundantly bitter; and their leaves ſeemed to have imbibed a quantity of ſaline particles, with which the ſoil of the whole deſert of Barca is ſtrongly impregnated.

We ſaw two or three gazels, or antelopes, walking one by one, at ſeveral times, in nothing differing from the ſpecies of that animal, in the deſert of Barca and Cyrenaicum; and the * jerboa, another inhabitant of theſe deſerts; but from the multitude of holes in the ground, which we ſaw at the root of almoſt every plant of Abſinthium, we were very certain its companion, the † Ceraſtes, or horned viper, was an inhabitant of that country alſo.

* See a figure of this animal in the Appendix.

† See Appendix.

From Medea, or the Paſſage, our road lay through very dry ſand; to avoid which, and ſeek firmer footing, we were obliged to ride up to the bellies of our horſes in the ſea. If the wind blows this quantity of duſt or ſand into the Mediterranean, it is no wonder the mouths of the branches of the Nile are choked up.

All Egypt is like to this part of it, full of deep duſt and ſand, from the beginning of March till the firſt of the inundation. It is this fine powder and ſand, raiſed and looſened by the heat of the ſun, and want of dew, and not being tied faſt, as it were, by any root or vegetation, which the Nile carries off with it, and buries in the ſea, and which many ignorantly ſuppoſe comes from Abyſſinia, where every river runs in a bed of rock.

When you leave the ſea, you ſtrike off nearly at right angles, and purſue your journey to the eaſtward of north. Here heaps of ſtone and trunks of pillars, are ſet up to guide you in your road, through moving ſands, which ſtand in hillocks in proper directions, and which conduct you ſafely to Roſetto, ſurrounded on one ſide by theſe hills of ſand, which ſeem ready to cover it.

Rosetto is upon that branch of the Nile which was called the Bolbuttic Branch, and is about four miles from the ſea. It probably obtained its preſent name from the Venetians, or Genoeſe, who monopolized the trade of this country, before the Cape of Good Hope was diſcovered; for it is known to the natives by the name of Raſhid, by which is meant the Orthodox.

The

THE reaſon of this I have already explained, it is ſome time or other to be a ſubſtitute to Mecca, and to be bleſſed with all that holineſs, that the poſſeſſion of the reliques, of their prophet can give it.

Dr SHAW* having always in his mind the ſtrengthening of Herodotus's hypotheſis, *that Egypt is created by the Nile*, ſays, that perhaps this was once a Cape, becauſe Raſhid has that meaning. But as Dr Shaw underſtood Arabic perfectly well, he muſt therefore have known, that Raſhid has no ſuch ſignification in any of the Oriental Languages. Ras, indeed, is a head land, or cape; but Raſſit has no ſuch ſignification, and Raſhid a very different one, as I have already mentioned.

RASHID then, or Roſetto, is a large, clean, neat town, or village, upon the eaſtern ſide of the Nile. It is about three miles long, much frequented by ſtudious and religious Mahometans; among theſe too are a conſiderable number of merchants, it being the entrepot between Cairo and Alexandria, and *vice verſa*; here too the merchants have their factors, who ſuperintend and watch over the merchandiſe which paſſes the Bogaz to and from Cairo.

THERE are many gardens, and much verdure, about Roſetto; the ground is low, and retains long the moiſture it imbibes from the overflowing of the Nile. Here alſo are many curious plants and flowers, brought from different countries, by *Fakirs*, and merchants. Without this, Egypt, ſubject

* Shaw's Travels, p. 294.

ſubject to ſuch long inundation, however it may abound in neceſſaries, could not boaſt of many beautiful productions of its own gardens, though flowers, trees, and plants, were very much in vogue in this neighbourhood, two hundred years ago, as we find by the obſervations of Proſper Alpinus.

The ſtudy and ſearch after every thing uſeful or beautiful, which for ſome time had been declining gradually, fell at laſt into total contempt and oblivion, under the brutal reign of theſe laſt ſlaves*, the moſt infamous reproach to the name of Sovereign.

Rosetto is a favourite halting-place of the Chriſtian travellers entering Egypt, and merchants eſtabliſhed there. There they draw their breaths, in an imaginary increaſe of freedom, between the two great ſinks of tyranny, oppreſſion, and injuſtice, Alexandria and Cairo.

Rosetto has this good reputation, that the people are milder, more tractable, and leſs avaricious, than thoſe of the two laſt-mentioned capitals; but I muſt ſay, that, in my time, I could not diſcern much difference.

The merchants, who trade at all hours of the day with Chriſtians, are indeed more civilized, and leſs inſolent, than the ſoldiery and the reſt of the common people, which is the caſe every where, as it is for their own intereſt; but their

* The Mamaluke Beys.

their prieſts, and moullahs, their ſoldiers, and people living in the country, are, in point of manners, juſt as bad as the others.

Rosetto is in lat. 31° 24′ 15″ N.; it is the place where we embark for Cairo, which we accordingly did on June the 30th.

There is a wonderful deal of talk at Alexandria of the danger of paſſing over the deſert to Roſetto. The ſame converſation is held here. After you embark on the Nile in your way to Cairo, you hear of pilots, and maſters of veſſels, who land you among robbers to ſhare your plunder, and twenty ſuch like ſtories, all of them of old date, and which perhaps happened long ago, or never happened at all.

But provided the government of Cairo is ſettled, and you do not land at villages in ſtrife with each other, (in which circumſtances no perſon of any nation is ſafe) you muſt be very unfortunate indeed, if any great accident befal you between Alexandria and Cairo.

For, from the conſtant intercourſe between theſe two cities, and the valuable charge conſided to theſe maſters of veſſels, they are all as well known, and at the leaſt as much under authority, as the boatmen on the river Thames; and, if they ſhould have either killed, or robbed any perſon, it muſt be with a view to leave the country immediately; elſe either at Cairo, Roſetto, Fuè, or Alexandria, wherever they were firſt caught, they would infallibly be hanged.

CHAP. II.

Author's Reception at Cairo—Procures Letters from the Bey and the Greek Patriarch—Viſits the Pyramids—Obſervations on their Conſtruction.

IT was in the beginning of July we arrived at Cairo, recommended to the very hoſpitable houſe of Julian and Bertran, to whom I imparted my reſolution of purſuing my journey into Abyſſinia.

THE wildneſs of the intention ſeemed to ſtrike them greatly, on which account they endeavoured all they could to perſuade me againſt it, but, upon ſeeing me reſolved, offered kindly their moſt effectual ſervices.

As the government of Cairo hath always been jealous of this enterpriſe I had undertaken, and a regular prohibition had been often made by the Porte, among indifferent people, I pretended that my deſtination was to India, and no one conceived any thing wrong in that.

THIS intention was not long kept ſecret, (nothing can be concealed at Cairo:) All nations, Jews, Turks, Moors, Cophts, and Franks, are conſtantly upon the inquiry, as much after things that concern other people's buſineſs as their own.

THE plan I adopted was to appear in public as ſeldom as poſſible, unleſs diſguiſed; and I ſoon was conſidered as a *Fakir*,

Fakir, or *Dervich*, moderately ſkilled in magic, and who cared for nothing but ſtudy and books.

This reputation opened me, privately, a channel for purchaſing many Arabic manuſcripts, which the knowledge of the language enabled me to chuſe, free from the load of traſh that is generally impoſed upon Chriſtian purchaſers.

The part of Cairo where the French are ſettled is exceedingly commodious, and fit for retirement. It conſiſts of one long ſtreet, where all the merchants of that nation live together. It is ſhut at one end, by large gates, where there is a guard, and theſe are kept conſtantly cloſe in the time of the plague.

At the other end is a large garden tolerably kept, in which there are ſeveral pleaſant walks, and ſeats; all the enjoyment that Chriſtians can hope for, among this vile people, reduces itſelf to peace, and quiet; nobody ſeeks for more. There are, however, wicked emiſſaries who are conſtantly employed, by threats, lies, and extravagant demands, to torment them, and keep them from enjoying that repoſe, which would content them inſtead of freedom, and more ſolid happineſs, in their own country.

I have always conſidered the French at Cairo, as a number of honeſt, poliſhed, and induſtrious men, by ſome fatality condemned to the gallies; and I muſt own, never did a ſet of people bear their continual vexations with more fortitude and manlineſs.

Their own affairs they keep to themſelves, and, notwithſtanding the bad proſpect always before them, they never fail to put on a chearful face to a ſtranger, and protect and help him to the utmoſt of their power; as if his little concerns, often ridiculous, always very troubleſome ones, were the only charge they had in hand.

But a more brutal, unjuſt, tyrannical, oppreſſive, avaricious ſet of infernal miſcreants, there is not on earth, than are the members of the government of Cairo.

There is alſo at Cairo a Venetian conſul, and a houſe of that nation called *Pini*, all excellent people.

The government of Cairo is much praiſed by ſome. It may perhaps have merit when explained, but I never could underſtand it, and therefore cannot explain it.

It is ſaid to conſiſt of twenty-four Beys; yet its admirers could never fix upon one year in which there was that number. There were but ſeven when I was at Cairo, and one who commanded the whole.

The Beys are underſtood to be veſted with the ſovereign power of the country; yet ſometimes a Kaya commands abſolutely, and, though of an inferior rank, he makes his ſervants, Beys or Sovereigns.

At a time of peace, when Beys are contented to be on an equality, and no ambitious one attempts to govern the whole, there is a number of inferior officers depending upon each of the Beys, ſuch as Kayas, Schourbatchies, and the

the like, who are but ſubjects in reſpect to the Beys, yet exerciſe unlimited juriſdiction over the people in the city, and appoint others to do the ſame over villages in the country.

THERE are perhaps four hundred inhabitants in Cairo, who have abſolute power, and adminiſter what they call juſtice, in their own way, and according to their own views.

FORTUNATELY in my time this many-headed monſter was no more, there was but one Ali Bey, and there was neither inferior nor ſuperior juriſdiction exerciſed, but by his officers only. This happy ſtate did not laſt long. In order to be a Bey, the perſon muſt have been a ſlave, and bought for money, at a market. Every Bey has a great number of ſervants, ſlaves to him, as he was to others before; theſe are his guards, and theſe he promotes to places in his houſehold, according as they are qualified.

THE firſt of theſe domeſtic charges is that of haſnadar, or treaſurer, who governs his whole houſehold; and whenever his maſter the Bey dies, whatever number of children he may have, they never ſucceed him; but this man marries his wife, and inherits his dignity and fortune.

THE Bey is old, the wife is young, ſo is the haſnadar, upon whom ſhe depends for every thing, and whom ſhe muſt look upon as the preſumptive huſband; and thoſe people who conceal, or confine their women, and are jealous, upon the moſt remote occaſion, never feel any jealouſy for the probable conſequences of this paſſion, from the exiſtence of ſuch connection.

It is very extraordinary, to find a race of men in power, all agree to leave their ſucceſſion to ſtrangers, in preference to their own children, for a number of ages; and that no one ſhould ever have attempted to make his ſon ſucceed him, either in dignity or eſtate, in preference to a ſlave, whom he has bought for money like a beaſt.

The Beys themſelves have ſeldom children, and thoſe they have, ſeldom live. I have heard it as a common obſervation, that Cairo is very unwholeſome for young children in general; the proſtitution of the Beys from early youth probably give their progeny a worſe chance than thoſe of others.

The inſtant that I arrived at Cairo was perhaps the only one in which I ever could have been allowed, ſingle and unprotected as I was, to have made my intended journey.

Ali Bey, lately known in Europe by various narratives of the laſt tranſactions of his life, after having undergone many changes of fortune, and been baniſhed by his rivals from his capital, at laſt had enjoyed the ſatisfaction of a return, and of making himſelf abſolute in Cairo.

The Port had conſtantly been adverſe to him, and he cheriſhed the ſtrongeſt reſentment in his heart. He wiſhed nothing ſo much as to contribute his part to rend the Ottoman empire to pieces.

A favourable opportunity preſented itſelf in the Ruſſian war, and Ali Bey was prepared to go all lengths in ſupport of that power. But never was there an expedition ſo ſucceſsful

ſucceſsful and ſo diſtant, where the officers were leſs inſtructed from the cabinet, more ignorant of the countries, more given to uſeleſs parade, or more intoxicated with pleaſure, than the Ruſſians on the Mediterranean then were.

After the defeat, and burning of the Turkiſh ſquadron, upon the coaſt of Aſia Minor, there was not a ſail appeared that did not do them homage. They were properly and advantageouſly ſituated at Paros, or rather, I mean, a ſquadron of ſhips of one half their number, would have been properly placed there.

The number of Baſhas and Governors in Caramania, very ſeldom in their allegiance to the Port, were then in actual rebellion; great part of Syria was in the ſame ſituation, down to Tripoli and Sidon; and thence Shekh Daher, from Acre to the plains of Eſdraelon, and to the very frontiers of Egypt.

With circumſtances ſo favourable, and a force ſo triumphant, Egypt and Syria would probably have fallen diſmembered from the Ottoman empire. But it was very plain, that the Ruſſian commanders were not provided with inſtructions, and had no idea how far their victory might have carried them, or how to manage thoſe they had conquered.

They had no confidential correſpondence with Ali Bey, though they might have ſafely truſted him as he would have truſted them; but neither of them were provided with proper negotiators, nor did they ever underſtand one another till it was too late, and till their enemies, taking advantage

vantage of their tardineſs, had rendered the firſt and great ſcheme impoſſible.

Carlo Rozetti, a Venetian merchant, a young man of capacity and intrigue, had for ſome years governed the Bey abſolutely. Had ſuch a man been on board the fleet with a commiſſion, after receiving inſtructions from Peterſburgh, the Ottoman empire in Egypt was at an end.

The Bey, with all his good ſenſe and underſtanding, was ſtill a mamaluke, and had the principles of a ſlave. Three men of different religions poſſeſſed his confidence and governed his councils all at a time. The one was a Greek, the other a Jew, and the third an Egyptian Copht, his ſecretary. It would have required a great deal of diſcernment and penetration to have determined which of theſe was the moſt worthleſs, or moſt likely to betray him.

The ſecretary, whoſe name was Riſk, had the addreſs to ſupplant the other two at the time they thought themſelves at the pinnacle of their glory; over-awing every Turk, and robbing every Chriſtian, the Greek was baniſhed from Egypt, and the Jew baſtinadoed to death. Such is the tenure of Egyptian miniſters.

Risk profeſſed aſtrology, and the Bey, like all other Turks, believed in it implicitely, and to this folly he ſacrificed his own good underſtanding; and Riſk, probably in pay to Conſtantinople, led him from one wild ſcheme to another, till he undid him—by the ſtars.

The

THE apparatus of inſtruments that were opened at the cuſtom-houſe of Alexandria, prepoſſeſſed Riſk in favour of my ſuperior knowledge in aſtrology.

THE Jew, who was maſter of the cuſtom-houſe, was not only ordered to refrain from touching or taking them out of their places (a great mortification to a Turkiſh cuſtom-houſe, where every thing is handed about and ſhewn) but an order from the Bey alſo arrived that they ſhould be ſent to me without duty or fees, becauſe they were not merchandiſe.

I WAS very thankful for that favour, not for the ſake of ſaving the dues at the cuſtom-houſe, but becauſe I was excuſed from having them taken out of their caſes by rough and violent hands, which certainly would have broken ſomething.

RISK waited upon me next day, and let me know from whom the favour came; on which we all thought this was a hint for a preſent; and accordingly, as I had other buſineſs with the Bey, I had prepared a very handſome one.

BUT I was exceedingly aſtoniſhed when deſiring to know the time when it was to be offered; it not only was refuſed, but ſome few trifles were ſent as a preſent from the ſecretary with this meſſage: "That, when I had repoſed, he "would viſit me, deſire to ſee me make uſe of theſe inſtru-"ments; and, in the mean time, that I might reſt confident, "that nobody durſt any way moleſt me while in Cairo, for "I was under the immediate protection of the Bey."

HE

He added alſo, "That if I wanted any thing I ſhould ſend "my Armenian ſervant, Arab Keer, to him, without trou- "bling myſelf to communicate my neceſſities to the French, "or truſt my concerns to their Dragomen."

Although I had lived for many years in friendſhip and in conſtant good underſtanding with both Turks and Moors, there was ſomething more polite and conſiderate in this than I could account for.

I had not ſeen the Bey, it was not therefore any particular addreſs, or any prepoſſeſſion in my favour, with which theſe people are very apt to be taken at firſt ſight, that could account for this; I was an abſolute ſtranger; I therefore opened myſelf entirely to my landlord, Mr Bertran.

I told him my apprehenſion of too much fair weather in the beginning, which, in theſe climates, generally leads to a ſtorm in the end; on which account, I ſuſpected ſome deſign; Mr Bertran kindly promiſed to ſound Riſk for me.

At the ſame time, he cautioned me equally againſt offending him, or truſting myſelf in his hands, as being a man capable of the blackeſt deſigns, and mercileſs in the execution of them.

It was not long before Riſk's curioſity gave him a fair opportunity. He inquired of Bertran as to my knowledge of the ſtars; and my friend, who then ſaw perfectly the drift of all his conduct, ſo prepoſſeſſed him in favour of my ſuperior ſcience, that he communicated to him in the inſtant the great expectations he had formed, to be enabled by

by me, to foreſee the deſtiny of the Bey; the ſucceſs of the war; and, in particular, whether or not he ſhould make himſelf maſter of Mecca; to conquer which place, he was about to diſpatch his ſlave and ſon-in-law, Mahomet Bey Abou Dahab, at the head of an army conducting the pilgrims.

Bertran communicated this to me with great tokens of joy: for my own part, I did not greatly like the profeſſion of fortune-telling, where baſtinado or impaling might be the reward of being miſtaken.

But I was told I had moſt credulous people to deal with, and that there was nothing for it but eſcaping as long as poſſible, before the iſſue of any of my prophecies arrived, and as ſoon as I had done my own buſineſs.

This was my own idea likewiſe; I never ſaw a place I liked worſe, or which afforded leſs pleaſure or inſtruction than Cairo, or antiquities which leſs anſwered their deſcriptions.

In a few days I received a letter from Riſk, deſiring me to go out to the Convent of St George, about three miles from Cairo, where the Greek patriarch had ordered an apartment for me; that I ſhould pretend to the French merchants that it was for the ſake of health, and that there I ſhould receive the Bey's orders.

Providence ſeemed to teach me the way I was to go. I went accordingly to St George, a very ſolitary manſion, but large and quiet, very proper for ſtudy, and ſtill more for

executing a plan which I thought moſt neceſſary for my undertaking.

During my ſtay at Algiers, the Rev. Mr Tonyn, the king's chaplain to that factory, was abſent upon leave. The bigotted catholic prieſts there neither marry, baptize, nor bury the dead of thoſe that are Proteſtants.

There was a Greek prieſt, *Father Chriſtopher, who conſtantly had offered gratuitouſly to perform theſe functions. The civility, humanity, and good character of the man, led me to take him to reſide at my country houſe, where I lived the greateſt part of the year; beſides that he was of a chearful diſpoſition, I had practiſed much with him both in ſpeaking and reading Greek with the accent, not in uſe in our ſchools, but without which that language, in the mouth of a ſtranger, is perfectly unintelligible all over the Archipelago.

Upon my leaving Algiers to go on my voyage to Barbary, being tired of the place, he embarked on board a veſſel, and landed at Alexandria, from which ſoon after he was called to Cairo by the Greek patriarch Mark, and made *Archimandrites*, which is the ſecond dignity in the Greek church under the patriarch. He too was well acquainted in the houſe of Ali Bey, where all were Georgian and Greek ſlaves; and it was at his ſolicitation that Riſk had deſired the patriarch to furniſh me with an apartment in the Convent of St George.

The

* Vid. Introduction.

THE next day after my arrival I was ſurpriſed by the viſit of my old friend Father Chriſtopher; and, not to detain the reader with uſeleſs circumſtances, the intelligence of many viſits, which I ſhall comprehend in one, was, that there were many Greeks then in Abyſſinia, all of them in great power, and ſome of them in the firſt places of the empire; that they correſponded with the patriarch when occaſion offered, and, at all times, held him in ſuch reſpect, that his will, when ſignified to them, was of the greateſt authority, and that obedience was paid to it as to holy writ.

FATHER CHRISTOPHER took upon him, with the greateſt readineſs, to manage the letters, and we digeſted the plan of them; three copies were made to ſend ſeparate ways, and an admonitory letter to the whole of the Greeks then in Abyſſinia, in form of a bull.

BY this the patriarch enjoined them as a penance, upon which a kind of jubilee was to follow, that, laying aſide their pride and vanity, great ſins with which he knew them much *infected*, and, inſtead of pretending to put themſelves on a footing with me when I ſhould arrive at the court of Abyſſinia, they ſhould concur, heart and hand, in ſerving me; and that, before it could be ſuppoſed they had received inſtructions from *me*, they ſhould make a declaration before the king, that they were not in condition equal to me, that I was a free citizen of a *powerful nation*, and ſervant of a great king; that *they* were born ſlaves of the Turk, and, at beſt, ranked but as would my ſervants; and that, in fact, one of their countrymen was in that ſtation then with me.

After having made that declaration publicly, and *bona fide*, in preſence of their prieſt, he thereupon declared to them, that all their paſt ſins were forgiven.

All this the patriarch moſt willingly and chearfully performed. I ſaw him frequently when I was in Cairo; and we had already commenced a great friendſhip and intimacy.

In the mean while, Riſk ſent to me, one night about nine o'clock, to come to the Bey. I ſaw him then for the firſt time. He was a much younger man than I conceived him to be; he was ſitting upon a large ſofa, covered with crimſon-cloth of gold; his turban, his girdle, and the head of his dagger, all thick covered with fine brilliants; one in his turban, that ſerved to ſupport a ſprig of brilliants alſo, was among the largeſt I had ever ſeen.

He entered abruptly into diſcourſe upon the war between Ruſſia and the Turk, and aſked me if I had calculated what would be the conſequence of that war? I ſaid, the Turks would be beaten by ſea and land wherever they preſented themſelves.

Again, Whether Conſtantinople would be burned or taken? —I ſaid, Neither; but peace would be made, after much bloodſhed, with little advantage to either party.

He clapped his hands together, and ſwore an oath in Turkiſh, then turned to Riſk, who ſtood before him, and ſaid, That will be ſad indeed! but truth is truth, and God is merciful.

He

He offered me coffee and ſweatmeats, promiſed me his protection, bade me fear nothing, but, if any body wronged me, to acquaint him by Riſk.

Two or three nights afterwards the Bey ſent for me again. It was near eleven o'clock before I got admittance to him.

I met the janiſſary Aga going out from him, and a number of ſoldiers at the door. As I did not know him, I paſſed him without ceremony, which is not uſual for any perſon to do. Whenever he mounts on horſeback, as he was then juſt going to do, he has abſolute power of life and death, without appeal, all over Cairo and its neighbourhood.

He ſtopt me juſt at the threſhold, and aſked one of the Bey's people who I was? and was anſwered, "It is Hakim Engleſe," the Engliſh philoſopher, or phyſician.

He aſked me in Turkiſh, in a very polite manner, if I would come and ſee him, for he was not well? I anſwered him in Arabic, "Yes, whenever he pleaſed, but could not then ſtay, as I had received a meſſage that the Bey was waiting." He replied in Arabic, "No, no; go, for God's ſake go; any time will do for me."

The Bey was ſitting, leaning forward, with a wax taper in one hand, and reading a ſmall ſlip of paper, which he held cloſe to his face. He ſeemed to have little light, or weak eyes; nobody was near him: his people had been all diſmiſſed, or were following the janiſſary Aga out.

He

He did not ſeem to obſerve me till I was cloſe upon him, and ſtarted when I ſaid, "*Salam.*" I told him I came upon his meſſage. He ſaid, I thank you, did I ſend for you? and without giving me leave to reply, went on, "O true, I did ſo," and fell to reading his paper again.

After this was over, he complained that he had been ill, that he vomited immediately after dinner, though he eat moderately; that his ſtomach was not yet ſettled, and was afraid ſomething had been given him to do him miſchief.

I felt his pulſe, which was low, a d weak; but very little feveriſh. I deſired he would order his people to look if his meat was dreſſed in copper properly tinned; I aſſured him he was in no danger, and inſinuated that I thought he had been guilty of ſome exceſs before dinner; at which he ſmiled, and ſaid to Riſk, who was ſtanding by, "Afrite! Afrite"! he is a devil! he is a devil! I ſaid, If your ſtomach is really uneaſy from what you may have ate, warm ſome water, and, if you pleaſe, put a little green tea into it, and drink it till it makes you vomit gently, and that will give you eaſe; after which you may take a diſh of ſtrong coffee, and go to bed, or a glaſs of ſpirits, if you have any that are good.

He looked ſurpriſed at this propoſal, and ſaid very calmly, "Spirits! do you know I am a Muſſulman?" But I, Sir, ſaid I, am none. I tell you what is good for your body, and have nothing to do with your religion, or your ſoul. He ſeemed vaſtly diverted, and pleaſed with my frankneſs, and only ſaid, "He ſpeaks like a man." There was no word of the war, nor of the Ruſſians that night. I went home deſperately

perately tired, and peeviſh at being dragged out, on ſo fooliſh an errand.

NEXT morning, his ſecretary Riſk came to me to the convent. The Bey was not yet well; and the idea ſtill remained that he had been poiſoned. Riſk told me the Bey had great confidence in me. I aſked him how the water had operated? He ſaid he had not yet taken any of it, that he did not know how to make it, therefore he was come at the deſire of the Bey, to ſee how it was made.

I IMMEDIATELY ſhewed him this, by infuſing ſome green tea in ſome warm water. But this was not all, he modeſtly inſinuated that I was to drink it, and ſo vomit myſelf, in order to ſhew him how to do with the Bey.

I EXCUSED myſelf from being patient and phyſician at the ſame time, and told him, I would vomit *him*, which would anſwer the ſame purpoſe of inſtruction; neither was this propoſal accepted.

THE old Greek prieſt, Father Chriſtopher, coming at the ſame time, we both agreed to vomit the Father, who would not conſent, but produced a Caloyeros, or young monk, and we forced *him* to take the water whether he would or not.

As my favour with the Bey was now eſtabliſhed by my midnight interviews, I thought of leaving my ſolitary manſion at the convent. I deſired Mr Riſk to procure me peremptory letters of recommendation to Shekh Haman, to the governor of Syene, Ibrim, and Deir, in Upper Egypt. I procured alſo the ſame from the janiſſaries, to theſe three laſt

laſt places, as their garriſons are from that body at Cairo, which they call their Port. I had alſo letters from Ali Bey, to the Bey of Suez, to the Sherriffe of Mecca, to the Naybe (ſo they call the Sovereign) of Maſuah, and to the king of Sennaar, and his miniſter for the time being.

Having obtained all my letters and diſpatches, as well from the patriarch as from the Bey, I ſet about preparing for my journey.

Cairo is ſuppoſed to be the ancient Babylon*, at leaſt part of it. It is in lat. 30° 2′ 30″ north, and in long. 31° 16′ eaſt, from Greenwich. I cannot aſſent to what is ſaid of it, that it is built in form of a creſcent. You ride round it, gardens and all, in three hours and a quarter, upon an aſs, at an ordinary pace, which will be above three miles an hour.

The Caliſh †, or Amnis Trajanus, paſſes through the length of it, and fills the lake called Birket el Hadje, the firſt ſupply of water the pilgrims get in their tireſome journey to Mecca.

On the other ſide of the Nile, from Cairo, is Geeza, ſo called, as ſome Arabian authors ſay, from there having been a bridge there; Geeza ſignifies the Paſſage.

About eleven miles beyond this are the Pyramids, called the Pyramids of Geeza, the deſcription of which is in every

* Ptol. Geograph. lib. 4 Cap. 5. † Shaw's travels p. 294.

every body's hands. Engravings of them had been publiſhed in England, with plans of them upon a large ſcale, two years before I came into Egypt, and were ſhewn me by Mr Davidſon conſul of Nice, whoſe drawings they were.

He it was too that diſcovered the ſmall chamber above the landing-place, after you aſcend through the long gallery of the great Pyramid on your left hand, and he left the ladder by which he aſcended, for the ſatisfaction of other travellers. But there is nothing in the chamber further worthy of notice, than its having eſcaped diſcovery ſo many ages.

I think it more extraordinary ſtill, that, for ſuch a time as theſe Pyramids have been known, travellers were content rather to follow the report of the ancients, than to make uſe of their own eyes.

Yet it has been a conſtant belief, that the ſtones compoſing theſe Pyramids have been brought from the *Libyan mountains, though any one who will take the pains to remove the ſand on the ſouth ſide, will find the ſolid rock there hewn into ſteps.

And in the roof of the large chamber, where the Sarcophagus ſtands, as alſo in the top of the roof of the gallery, as you go up into that chamber, you ſee large fragments

* Herod. lib. 2. cap. 8.

of the rock, affording an unanſwerable proof, that thoſe Pyramids were once huge rocks, ſtanding where they now are; that ſome of them, the moſt proper from their form, were choſen for the body of the Pyramid, and the others hewn into ſteps, to ſerve for the ſuperſtructure, and the exterior parts of them.

CHAP.

Canja under Sail.

London Publish'd Dec.r 1st 1789. by G. Robinson & Co.

CHAP. III.

Leaves Cairo—Embarks on the Nile for Upper Egypt—Viſits Metrahenny and Mohannan—Reaſons for ſuppoſing this the ſituation of Memphis.

HAVING now provided every thing neceſſary, and taken a rather melancholy leave of our very indulgent friends, who had great apprehenſions that we ſhould never return; and fearing that our ſtay till the very exceſſive heats were paſt, might involve us in another difficulty, that of miſſing the Eteſian winds, we ſecured a boat to carry us to Furſhout, the reſidence of Hamam, the Shekh of Upper Egypt.

THIS ſort of veſſel is called a Canja, and is one of the moſt commodious uſed on any river, being ſafe, and expeditious at the ſame time, though at firſt ſight it has a ſtrong appearance of danger.

THAT on which we embarked was about 100 feet from ſtern to ſtem, with two maſts, main and foremaſt, and two monſtrous *Latine* ſails; the main-ſail yard being about 200 feet in length.

THE ſtructure of this veſſel is eaſily conceived, from the draught, plan, and ſection. It is about 30 feet in the beam, and about 90 feet in keel.

THE keel is not ſtraight, but a portion of a parabola whoſe curve is almoſt inſenſible to the eye. But it has this good

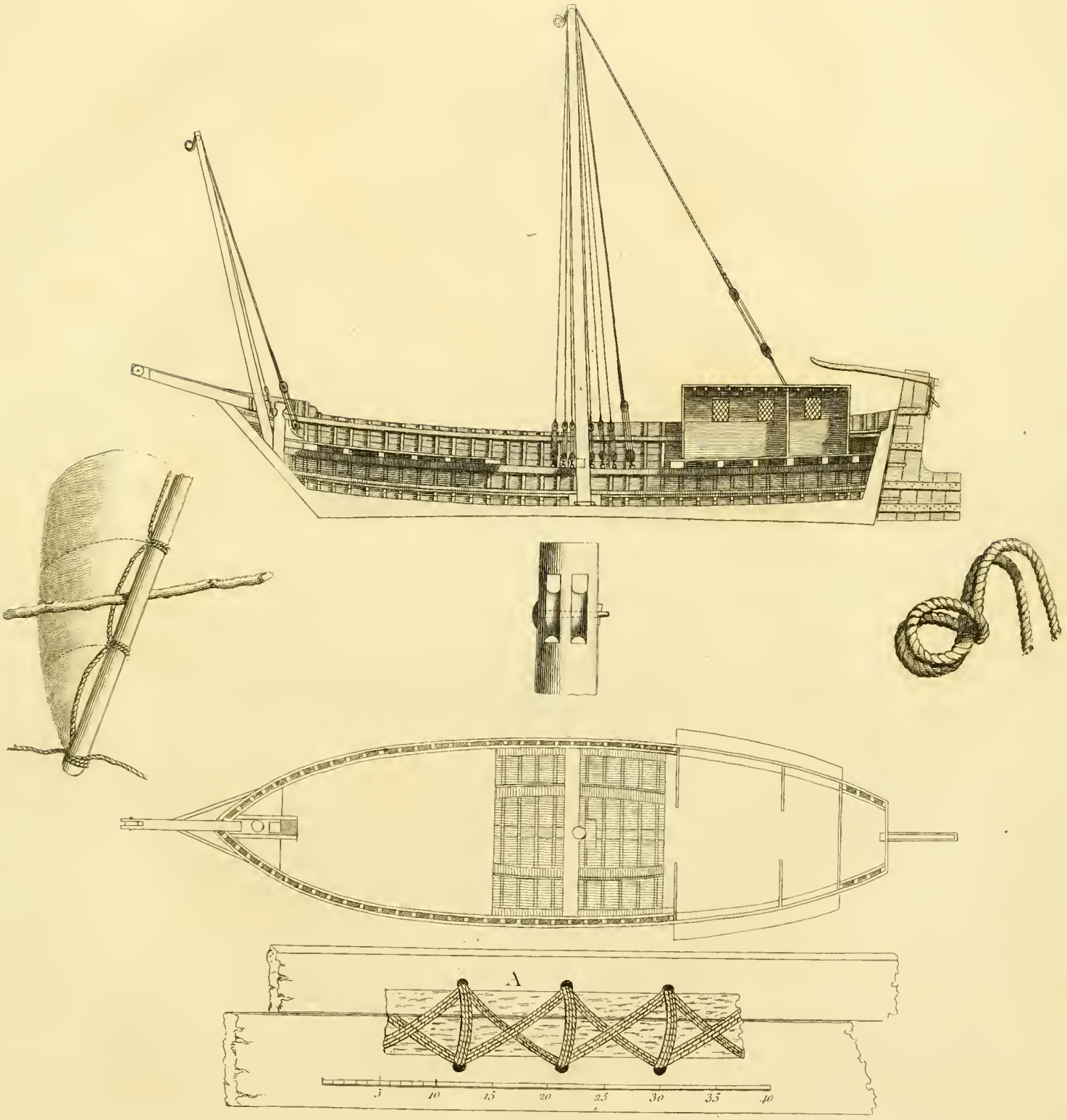
effect in ſailing, that whereas the bed of the Nile, when the water grows low, is full of ſand banks under water, the keel under the ſtem, where the curve is greateſt, firſt ſtrikes upon theſe banks, and is faſt, but the reſt of the ſhip is afloat; ſo that by the help of oars, and aſſiſtance of the ſtream, furling the ſails, you get eaſily off; whereas, was the keel ſtraight, and the veſſel going with the preſſure of that immenſe main-ſail, you would be ſo faſt upon the bank as to lie there like a wreck for ever.

This yard and ſail is never lowered. The ſailors climb and furl it as it ſtands. When they ſhift the ſail, they do it with a thick ſtick like a quarter ſtaff, which they call a *noboot*, put between the laſhing of the yard and the ſail; they then twiſt this ſtick round till the ſail and yard turn over to the ſide required.

When I ſay the yard and ſail are never lowered, I mean while we are getting up the ſtream, before the wind; for, otherwiſe, when the veſſel returns, they take out the maſt, lay down the yards, and put by their ſails, ſo that the boat deſcends like a wreck broadſide forwards; otherwiſe, being ſo heavy a-loft, were ſhe to touch with her ſtem going down the ſtream, ſhe could not fail to carry away her maſts, and perhaps be ſtaved to pieces.

The cabin has a very decent and agreeable dining-room, about twenty feet ſquare, with windows that have cloſe and latticed ſhutters, ſo that you may open them at will in the day-time, and enjoy the freſhneſs of the air; but great care muſt be taken to keep theſe ſhut at night.

A certain



Section of the Canja.

A Planks sewed together without nailing.

London Published Dec.r 1789 by C. Robinson & Co.

A CERTAIN kind of robber, peculiar to the Nile, is conſtantly on the watch to rob boats, in which they ſuppoſe the crew are off their guard. They generally approach the boat when it is calm, either ſwimming under water, or when it is dark, upon goats ſkins; after which, they mount with the utmoſt ſilence, and take away whatever they can lay their hands on.

THEY are not very fond, I am told, of meddling with veſſels whereon they ſee Franks, or Europeans, becauſe by them ſome have been wounded with fire-arms.

THE attempts are generally made when you are at anchor, or under weigh, at night, in very moderate weather; but oftenеſt when you are falling down the ſtream without maſts; for it requires, ſtrength, vigour, and ſkill, to get aboard a veſſel going before a briſk wind; though indeed they are abundantly provided with all theſe requiſites.

BEHIND the dining-room (that is, nearer the ſtern,) you have a bed-chamber ten feet long, and a place for putting your books and arms. With the latter we were plentifully ſupplied, both with thoſe of the uſeful kind, and thoſe (ſuch as large blunderbuſſes,) meant to ſtrike terror. We had great abundance of ammunition likewiſe, both for our defence and ſport.

WITH books we were leſs furniſhed, yet our library was *choſen*, and a very *dear* one; for, finding how much my baggage was increaſed by the acceſſion of the large quadrant and its foot, and Dolland's large achromatic teleſcope, I began to think it folly to load myſelf more with things to be carried

carried on mens ſhoulders through a country full of mountains, which it was very doubtful whether I ſhould get liberty to enter, much more be able to induce ſavages to carry theſe incumbrances for me.

To reduce the bulk as much as poſſible, after conſidering in my mind what were likelieſt to be of ſervice to me in the countries through which I was paſſing, and the ſeveral inquiries I was to make, I fell, with ſome remorſe, upon garbling my library, tore out all the leaves which I had marked for my purpoſe, deſtroyed ſome editions of very rare books, rolling up the needful, and tying them by themſelves. I thus reduced my library to a more compact form.

It was December 12th when I embarked on the Nile at Bulac, on board the Canja already mentioned, the remaining part of which needs no deſcription, but will be underſtood immediately upon inſpection.

At firſt we had the precaution to apply to our friend Riſk concerning our captain Hagi Haſſan Abou Cuffi, and we obliged him to give his ſon Mahomet in ſecurity for his behaviour towards us. Our hire to Furſhout was twenty-ſeven patakas, or about L. 6 : 15 : 0 Sterling.

There was nothing ſo much we deſired as to be at ſome diſtance from Cairo on our voyage. Bad affairs and extortions always overtake you in this deteſtable country, at the very time when you are about to leave it.

The wind was contrary, ſo we were obliged to advance againſt the ſtream, by having the boat drawn with a rope.

We

We were ſurpriſed to ſee the alacrity with which two young Moors beſtirred themſelves in the boat, they ſupplied the place of maſters, companions, pilots, and ſeamen to us.

Our Rais had not appeared, and I did not augur much good from the alacrity of theſe Moors, ſo willing to proceed without him.

However, as it was conformable to our own wiſhes, we encouraged and cajoled them all we could. We advanced a few miles to two convents of Cophts, called Deireteen*.

Here we ſtopped to paſs the night, having had a fine view of the Pyramids of Geeza and Saccara, and being then in ſight of a prodigious number of others built of white clay, and ſtretching far into the deſert to the ſouth-weſt.

Two of theſe ſeemed full as large as thoſe that are called the Pyramids of Geeza. One of them was of a very extraordinary form, it ſeemed as if it had been intended at firſt to be a very large one, but that the builder's heart or means had failed him, and that he had brought it to a very miſ-ſhapen diſproportioned head at laſt.

We were not a little diſpleaſed to find, that, in the firſt promiſe of punctuality our Rais had made, he had diſappointed us by abſenting himſelf from the boat. The fear of a complaint, if we remained near the town, was the reaſon why his ſervants had hurried us away; but being now out

* This has been thought to mean the Convent of Figs, but it only ſignifies the Two Convents.

out of reach, as they thought, their behaviour was entirely changed; they ſcarce deigned to ſpeak to us, but ſmoked their pipes, and kept up a converſation bordering upon ridicule and inſolence.

On the ſide of the Nile, oppoſite to our boat, a little farther to the ſouth, was a tribe of Arabs encamped.

These are ſubject to Cairo, or were then at peace with its government. They are called Howadat, being a part of the Atouni, a large tribe that poſſeſſes the Iſthmus of Suez, and from that go up between the Red Sea and the mountains that bound the eaſt part of the Valley of Egypt. They reach to the length of Coſſeir, where they border upon another large tribe called Ababdé, which extends from thence up into Nubia.

Both theſe are what were anciently called *Shepherds*, and are now conſtantly at war with each other.

The Howadat are the ſame that fell in with Mr Irvine* in theſe very mountains, and conducted him ſo generouſly and ſafely to Cairo. Though little acquainted with the manners, and totally ignorant of the language of his conductors, he imagined them to be, and calls them by no other name, than "*the Thieves.*"

One or two of theſe ſtraggled down to my boat to ſeek tobacco and coffee, when I told them, if a few decent men among

* See Mr Irvine's Letters.

among them would come on board, I ſhould make them partakers of the coffee and tobacco I had. Two of them accepted the invitation, and we preſently became great friends.

I REMEMBERED, when in Barbary, living with the tribes of Noile and Wargumma (two numerous and powerful clans of Arabs in the kingdom of Tunis) that the Howadat, or Atouni, the Arabs of the Iſthmus of Suez, were of the ſame family and race with one of them.

I EVEN had marked this down in my memorandum-book, but it happened not to be at hand; and I did not really remember whether it was to the Noile or Wargumma they were friends, for theſe two are rivals, and enemies, ſo in a miſtake there was danger. I, however, caſt about a little to diſcover this if poſſible; and ſoon, from diſcourſe and circumſtances that came into my mind, I found it was the Noile to whom theſe people belonged; ſo we ſoon were familiar, and as our converſation tallied ſo that we found we were *true men*, they got up and inſiſted on fetching one of their Shekhs.

I TOLD them they might do ſo if they pleaſed; but they were firſt bound to perform me a piece of ſervice, to which they willingly and readily offered themſelves. I deſired, that, early next morning, they would have a boy and horſe ready to carry a letter to Riſk, Ali Bey's ſecretary, and I would give him a piaſter upon bringing back the anſwer.

THIS they inſtantly engaged to perform, but no ſooner were they gone a-ſhore, than, after a ſhort council held together,

gether, one of our laughing boat-companions ſtole off on foot, and, before day, I was awakened by the arrival of our Rais Abou Cuffi, and his ſon Mahomet.

Abou Cuffi was *drunk*, though a *Sherriffe*, a *Hagi*, and half a *Saint* beſides, who never taſted *fermented* liquor, as he told me when I hired him.—The ſon was terrified out of his wits. He ſaid he ſhould have been impaled, had the meſſenger arrived; and, ſeeing that I fell upon means to keep open a correſpondence with Cairo, he told me he would not run the riſk of being ſurety, and of going back to Cairo to anſwer for his father's faults, leaſt, one day or another, upon ſome complaint of that kind, he might be taken out of his bed and baſtinadoed to death, without knowing what his offence was.

An altercation enſued; the father declined ſtaying upon pretty much the ſame reaſons, and I was very happy to find that Riſk had dealt roundly with them, and that I was maſter of the ſtring upon which I could touch their fears.

They then both agreed to go the voyage, for none of them thought it very ſafe to ſtay; and I was glad to get men of ſome ſubſtance along with me, rather than truſt to hired vagabond ſervants, which I eſteemed the two Moors to be.

As the Shekh of the Howadat and I had vowed friendſhip, he offered to carry me to Coſſeir by land, without any expence, and in perfect ſafety, thinking me diffident of my boatmen, from what had paſſed.

I thanked

I THANKED him for this friendly offer, which I am perſuaded I might have accepted very ſafely, but I contented myſelf with deſiring, that one of the Moor ſervants in the boat ſhould go to Cairo to fetch Mahomet Abou Cuffi's ſon's cloaths, and agreed that I ſhould give five patakas additional hire for the boat, on condition that Mahomet ſhould go with us in place of the Moor ſervant, and that Abou Cuffi, the father and ſaint (that never drank fermented liquors) ſhould be allowed to ſleep himſelf ſober, till his ſervant the Moor returned from Cairo with his ſon's cloaths.

IN the mean time, I bargained with the Shekh of the Howadat to furniſh me with horſes to go to Metrahenny or Mohannan, where once he ſaid Mimf had ſtood, a large city, the capital of all Egypt.

ALL this was executed with great ſucceſs. Early in the morning the Shekh of the Howadat had paſſed at Miniel, where there is a ferry, the Nile being very deep, and attended me with five horſemen and a ſpare horſe for myſelf, at Metrahenny, ſouth of Miniel, where there is a great plantation of palm-trees.

THE 13th, in the morning about eight o'clock, we let out our vaſt ſails, and paſſed a very conſiderable village called Turra, on the eaſt ſide of the river, and Shekh Atman, a ſmall village, conſiſting of about thirty houſes, on the weſt.

THE mountains which run from the caſtle to the eaſtward of ſouth-eaſt, till they are about five miles diſtant from the Nile eaſt and by north of this ſtation, approach again the banks of the river, running in a direction ſouth and by

weſt, till they end cloſe on the banks of the Nile about Turra.

The Nile here is about a quarter of a mile broad; and there cannot be the ſmalleſt doubt, in any perſon diſpoſed to be convinced, that this is by very far * the narroweſt part of Egypt yet ſeen. For it certainly wants of half-a-mile between the foot of the mountain and the Libyan ſhore, which cannot be ſaid of any other part of Egypt we had yet come to; and it cannot be better deſcribed than it is by † Herodotus; and "again, *oppoſite* to the Arabian ſide, is another "ſtony mountain of Egypt towards Libya, covered with "ſand, where are the Pyramids."

As this, and many other circumſtances to be repeated in the ſequel, muſt naturally awaken the attention of the traveller to look for the ancient city of Memphis here, I left our boat at Shekh Atman, accompanied by the Arabs, pointing nearly ſouth. We entered a large and thick wood of palm-trees, whoſe greateſt extenſion ſeemed to be ſouth by eaſt. We continued in this courſe till we came to one, and then to ſeveral large villages, all built among the plantation of date-trees, ſo as ſcarce to be ſeen from the ſhore.

These villages are called Metrahenny, a word from the etymology of which I can derive no information, and leaving the river, we continued due weſt to the plantation that is called Mohannan, which, as far as I know, has no ſignification either.

All

* Herod. lib. ii. p. 99. † Herod. lib. ii. cap. 8.

All to the ſouth, in this deſert, are vaſt numbers of Pyramids; as far as I could diſcern, all of clay, ſome ſo diſtant as to appear juſt in the horizon.

Having gained the weſtern edge of the palm-trees at Mohannan, we have a fair view of the Pyramids at Geeza, which lie in a direction nearly S. W. As far as I can compute the diſtance, I think about nine miles, and as near as it was poſſible to judge by ſight, Metrahenny, Geeza, and the center of the three Pyramids, made an Iſoſceles triangle, or nearly ſo.

I asked the Arab what he thought of the diſtance? whether it was fartheſt to Geeza, or the Pyramids? He ſaid, they were *ſowah*, *ſowah*, juſt alike, he believed; from Metrahenny to the Pyramids perhaps might be fartheſt, but he would much ſooner go it, than along the coaſt to Geeza, becauſe he ſhould be interrupted by meeting with water.

All to the weſt and ſouth of Mohannan, we ſaw great mounds and heaps of rubbiſh, and caliſhes that were not of any length, but were lined with ſtone, covered and choked up in many places with earth.

We ſaw three large granite pillars S. W. of Mohannan, and a piece of a broken cheſt or ciſtern of granite; but no obeliſks, or ſtones with hieroglyphics, and we thought the greateſt part of the ruins ſeemed to point that way, or more ſoutherly.

These, our conductor ſaid, were the ruins of Mimf, the ancient ſeat of the Pharaohs kings of Egypt, that there was

another Mimf, far down in the Delta, by which he meant Menoúf, below Terrane and Batn el Baccara*.

Perceiving now that I could get no further intelligence, I returned with my kind guide, whom I gratified for his pains, and we parted content with each other.

In the ſands I ſaw a number of hares. He ſaid, if I would go with him to a place near Faioume, I ſhould kill half a boat-load of them in a day, and antelopes likewiſe, for he knew where to get dogs; mean-while he invited me to ſhoot at them there, which I did not chooſe; for, paſſing very quietly among the date-trees, I wiſhed not to invite further curioſity.

All the people in the date villages ſeemed to be of a yellower and more ſick-like colour, than any I had ever ſeen; beſides, they had an inanimate, dejected, grave countenance, and ſeemed rather to avoid, than wiſh any converſation.

It was near four o'clock in the afternoon when we returned to our boatmen. By the way we met one of our Moors, who told us they had drawn up the boat oppoſite to the northern point of the palm-trees of Metrahenny.

My Arab inſiſted to attend me thither, and, upon his arrival, I made him ſome trifling preſents, and then took my leave.

In the evening I received a preſent of dry dates, and ſome ſugar cane, which does not grow here, but had been brought to

* See the Chart of the Nile.

to the Shekh by ſome of his friends, from ſome of the villages up the river.

The learned Dr Pococke, as far as I know, is the firſt European traveller that ventured to go out of the beaten path, and look for Memphis, at Metrahenny and Mohannan.

Dr Shaw, who in judgment, learning, and candour, is equal to Dr Pococke, or any of thoſe that have travelled into Egypt, contends warmly for placing it at Geeza.

Mr Niebuhr, the Daniſh traveller, agrees with Dr Pococke. I believe neither Shaw nor Niebuhr were ever at Metrahenny, which Dr Pococke and myſelf viſited; though all of us have been often enough at Geeza, and I muſt confeſs, ſtrongly as Dr Shaw has urged his arguments, I cannot conſider any of the reaſons for placing Memphis at Geeza as convincing, and very few of them that do not go to prove juſt the contrary in favour of Metrahenny.

Before I enter into the argument, I muſt premiſe, that Ptolemy, if he is good for any thing, if he merits the hundredth part of the pains that have been taken with him by his commentators, muſt ſurely be received as a competent authority in this caſe.

The inquiry is into the poſition of the old capital of Egypt, not fourſcore miles from the place where he was writing, and immediately in dependence upon it. And therefore, in dubious caſes, I ſhall have no doubt to refer to him as deſerving the greateſt credit.

Dr

Dr Pococke * ſays, that the ſituation of Memphis was at Mohannan, or Metrahenny, becauſe Pliny ſays the † Pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta, as they certainly are, if Dr Pococke is right as to the ſituation of Memphis.

Dr Shaw does not undertake to anſwer this direct evidence, but thinks to avoid its force by alledging a contrary ſentiment of the ſame Pliny, "that the Pyramids ‡ lay between Memphis and the Arſinoite nome, and conſequently, as Dr Shaw thinks, they muſt be to the weſtward of Memphis."

Memphis, if ſituated at Metrahenny, was in the middle of the Pyramids, three of them to the N. W. and above threeſcore of them to the ſouth.

When Pliny ſaid that the Pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta, he meant the three large Pyramids, commonly called the Pyramids of Geeza.

But in the laſt inſtance, when he ſpoke of the Pyramids of Saccara, or that great multitude of Pyramids ſouthward, he ſaid they were between Memphis and the Arſinoite nome; and ſo they are, placing Memphis at Metrahenny.

For Ptolemy gives Memphis 29° 50′ in latitude, and the Arſinoite nome 29° 30′ and there is 8′ of longitude betwixt them. Therefore the Arſinoite nome cannot be to the weſt, either of Geeza or Metrahenny; the Memphitic nome extends

* Pococke, vol. I. cap. v. p. 39. † Plin. lib. 5, cap. 9. ‡ Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12.

tends to the weſtward, to that part of Libya called the Scythian Region; and ſouth of the Memphitic nome is the Arſinoite nome, which is bounded on the weſtward by the ſame part of Libya.

To prove that the latter opinion of Pliny ſhould outweigh the former one, Dr Shaw cites *Diodorus Siculus, who ſays Memphis was moſt commodiouſly ſituated in the very key, or inlet of the country, where the river begins to divide itſelf into ſeveral branches, and forms the Delta.

I CANNOT conceive a greater proof of a man being blinded by attachment to his own opinion, than this quotation. For Memphis was in lat. 29° 50′, and the point of the Delta was in 30°, and this being the latitude of Geeza, it cannot be that of Memphis. That city muſt be ſought for ten or eleven miles farther ſouth.

IF, as Dr Shaw ſuppoſes, it was nineteen miles round, and that it was five or ſix miles in breadth, its greateſt breadth would probably be to the river. Then 10 and 6 make 16, which will be the latitude of Metrahenny, according to † Dr Shaw's method of computation.

BUT then it cannot be ſaid that Geeza is either in the key or inlet of the country; all to the weſtward of Geeza is plain, and deſert, and no mountain nearer it on the other ſide than the caſtle of Cairo.

* Diod. Sic. p. 45. § 50. † Shaw's Travels, p. 296. in the latitude quoted.

Dr Shaw* thinks that this is further confirmed by Pliny's ſaying that Memphis was within fifteen miles of the Delta. Now if this was really the caſe, he ſuggeſts a plain reaſon, if he relies on ancient meaſures, why Geeza, that is only ten miles, cannot be Memphis.

If a perſon, arguing from meaſures, thinks he is intitled to throw away or add, the third part of the quantity that he is contending for, he will not be at a great ſtreſs to place theſe ancient cities in what ſituation he pleaſes.

Nor is it fair for Dr Shaw to ſuppoſe quantities that never did exiſt; for Metrahenny, inſtead of † forty, is not quite twenty-ſeven miles from the Delta; ſuch liberties would confound any queſtion.

The Doctor proceeds by ſaying, that heaps of ruins ‡ alone are not proof of any particular place; but the agreeing of the diſtances between Memphis and the Delta, which is a fixed and ſtanding boundary, lying at a determinate diſtance from Memphis, muſt be a proof beyond all exception ‖.

If I could have attempted to adviſe Dr Shaw, or have had an opportunity of doing it, I would have ſuggeſted to him, as one who has maintained that all Egypt is the gift of the Nile, not to ſay that the point of the Delta is a ſtanding and determined boundary that cannot alter. The inconſiſtency is apparent, and I am of a very contrary opinion.

Babylon

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* Shaw's Travels, cap. 4. p. 298. † Id. ibid. 299. ‡ Id ibid. ‖ Id. ibid.

Babylon, or Cairo, as it is now called, is fixed by the Caſſih or Amnis Trajanus paſſing through it. Ptolemy * ſays ſo, and Dr Shaw ſays that Geeza was oppoſite to Cairo, or in a line eaſt and weſt from it, and is the ancient Memphis.

Now, if Babylon is lat. 30°, and ſo is Geeza, they may be oppoſite to one another in a line of eaſt and weſt. But if the latitude of Memphis is 29° 50′, it cannot be at Geeza, which is oppoſite to Babylon, but ten miles farther ſouth, in which caſe it cannot be oppoſite to Babylon or Cairo. Again, if the point of the Delta be in lat. 30°, Babylon, or Cairo, 30°, and Geeza be 30°, then the point of the Delta cannot be ten miles from Cairo or Babylon, or ten miles from Geeza.

It is ten miles from Geeza, and ten miles from Babylon, or Cairo, and therefore the diſtances do not agree as Dr Shaw ſays they do; nor can the point of the Delta, as he ſays, be a permanent boundary conſiſtently with his own figures and thoſe of Ptolemy, but it muſt have been waſhed away, or gone 10′ northward; for Babylon, as he ſays, is a certain boundary fixed by the Amnis Trajanus, and, ſuppoſing the Delta had been a fixed boundary, and in lat. 30°, then the diſtance of fifteen miles would juſt have made up the ſpace that Pliny ſays was between that point and Memphis, if we ſuppoſe that great city was at Metrahenny.

I shall ſay nothing as to his next argument in relation to the diſtance of Geeza from the Pyramids; becauſe, ma-

* Ptol. Geograph. lib. iv. cap. 5.

king the ſame ſuppoſitions, it is juſt as much in favour of one as of the other.

His next argument is from *Herodotus, who ſays, that Memphis lay under the ſandy mountain of Libya, and that this mountain is a ſtony mountain covered with ſand, and is oppoſite to the Arabian mountain.

Now this ſurely cannot be called Geeza; for Geeza is under no mountain, and the Arabian mountain ſpoken of here is that which comes cloſe to the ſhore at Turra.

Diodorus ſays, it was placed in the ſtraits or narroweſt part of Egypt; and this Geeza cannot be ſo placed, for, by Dr Shaw's own confeſſion, it is at leaſt twelve miles from Geeza to the ſandy mountain where the Pyramids ſtand on the Libyan ſide; and, on the Arabian ſide, there is no mountain but that on which the caſtle of Cairo ſtands, which chain begins there, and runs a conſiderable way into the deſert, afterwards pointing ſouth-weſt, till they come ſo near to the eaſtern ſhore as to leave no room but for the river at Turra; ſo that, if the cauſe is to be tried by this point only, I am very confident that Dr Shaw's candour and love of truth would have made him give up his opinion if he had viſited Turra.

The laſt authority I ſhall examine as quoted by Dr Shaw, is to me ſo deciſive of the point in queſtion, that, were I writing to thoſe only who are acquainted with Egypt, and the navigation of the Nile, I would not rely upon another.

Herodotus

*Herod. lib. ii. p. 141. Ibid. p. 168. Ibid. p. 105. Ibid. p. 103. Edit. Steph.

HERODOTUS * ſays, "At the time of the inundation, the "Egyptians do not ſail from Naucratis to Memphis by the "common channel of the river, that is Cercaſora, and the "point of the Delta, but over the plain country, along the "very ſide of the Pyramids."

NAUCRATIS was on the weſt ſide of the Nile, about lat. 30° 30′. let us ſay about Terrane in my map. They then ſailed along the plain, out of the courſe of the river, upon the inundation, cloſe by the Pyramids, whatever ſide they pleaſed, till they came to Metrahenny, the ancient Memphis.

THE Eteſian wind, fair as it could blow, forwarded their courſe whilſt in this line. They went directly before the wind, and, if we may ſuppoſe, accompliſhed the navigation in a very few hours; having been provided with thoſe barks, or canjas, with their powerful ſails, which I have already deſcribed, and, by means of which, they ſhortened their paſſage greatly, as well as added pleaſure to it.

BUT very different was the caſe if the canja was going to Geeza.

THEY had nothing to do with the Pyramids, nor to come within three leagues of the Pyramids; and nothing can be more contrary, both to fact and experience, than that they would ſhorten their voyage by ſailing along the ſide of them; for the wind being at north and north-weſt as fair as poſſible for Geeza, they had nothing to do but to keep as

*Herod. lib. ii. § 97. p. 123

as direct upon it as they could lie. But if, as Dr Shaw thinks, they made the Pyramids firſt, I would wiſh to know in what manner they conducted their navigation to come down upon Geeza.

THEIR veſſels go only before the wind, and they had a ſtrong ſteady gale almoſt directly in their teeth.

THEY had no current to help them; for they were in ſtill water; and if they did not take down their large yards and ſails, they were ſo top-heavy, the wind had ſo much purchaſe upon them above, that there was no alternative, but, either with ſails or without, they muſt make for Upper Egypt; and there, entering into the firſt practicable caliſh that was full, get into the main ſtream.

BUT their dangers were not ſtill over, for, going down with a violent current, and with their ſtanding rigging up, the moment they touched the banks, their maſts and yards would go overboard, and, perhaps, the veſſel ſtave to pieces.

NOTHING would then remain, but for ſafety's ſake to ſtrike their maſts and yards, as they always do when they go down the river; they muſt lie broadſide foremoſt, the ſtrong wind blowing perpendicular on one ſide of the veſſel, and the violent current puſhing it in a contrary direction on the other; while a man, with a long oar, balances the advantage the wind has of the ſtream, by the hold it has of the cabin and upper works.

THIS would moſt infallibly be the caſe of the voyage from Naucratis, unleſs in ſtriving to ſail by tacking, (a manœuvre of

of which their veſſel is not capable) their canja ſhould overſet, and then they muſt all periſh.

If Memphis was Metrahenny, I believe moſt people who had leiſure would have tried the voyage from Naucratis by the plain. They would have been carried ſtraight from north to ſouth. But Dr Shaw is exceedingly miſtaken, if he thinks there is any way ſo expeditious as going up the current of the river. As far as I can gueſs, from ten to four o'clock, we ſeldom went leſs than eight miles in the hour, againſt a current that ſurely ran more than ſix. This current kept our veſſel ſtiff, whilſt the monſtrous ſail forced us through with a facility not to be imagined.

Dr Shaw, to put Geeza and Memphis perfectly upon a footing, ſays*, that there were no traces of the city now to be found, from which he imagines it began to decay ſoon after the building of Alexandria, that the mounds and ramparts which kept the river from it were in proceſs of time neglected, and that Memphis, which he ſuppoſes was in the old bed of the river about the time of the Ptolemies, was ſo far abandoned, that the Nile at laſt got in upon it, and overflowing its old ruins, great part of the beſt of which had been carried firſt to build the city of Alexandria, that the mud covered the reſt, ſo that no body knew what was its true ſituation. This is the opinion of Dr Pococke, and likewiſe of M. de Maillet.

The opinion of theſe two laſt-mentioned authors, that the ruins and ſituation of Memphis are now become obſcure, is

* Shaw's Travels, cap. 4.

is certainly true; the foregoing diſpute is a ſufficient evidence of this.

But I will not ſuffer it to be ſaid, that, ſoon after the building of Alexandria, or in the time of the Ptolemies, this was the caſe, becauſe Strabo * ſays, that when he was in Egypt, Memphis, next to Alexandria, was the moſt magnificent city in Egypt.

It was called the Capital † of Egypt, and there was entire a temple of Oſiris; the Apis (or ſacred ox) was kept and worſhipped there. There was likewiſe an apartment for the mother of that ox ſtill ſtanding, a temple of Vulcan of great magnificence, a large ‡ circus, or ſpace for fighting bulls; and a great coloſſus in the front of the city thrown down: there was alſo a temple of Venus, and a ſerapium, in a very ſandy place, where the wind heaps up hills of moving ſand very dangerous to travellers, and a number of § ſphinxes, (of ſome only their heads being viſible) the others covered up to the middle of their body.

In the ‖ front of the city were a number of palaces then in ruins, and likewiſe lakes. Theſe buildings, he ſays, ſtood formerly upon an eminence; they lay along the ſide of the hill, ſtretching down to the lakes and the groves, and forty ſtadia from the city; there was a mountainous height, that had many Pyramids ſtanding upon it, the ſepulchres of the kings, among which there are three remarkable, and two the wonders of the world.

This

* Strabo. lib. vii. . 914. † Id. ibid. ‡ Id. ibid. § Strabo, ibid. ‖ Id. ibid.

THIS is the account of an eye-witneſs, an hiſtorian of the firſt credit, who mentions Memphis, and this ſtate of it, ſo late as the reign of Nero; and therefore I ſhall conclude this argument with three obſervations, which, I am very ſorry to ſay, could never have eſcaped a man of Dr Shaw's learning and penetration.

1ſt, THAT by this deſcription of Strabo, who was in it, it is plain that the city was not deſerted in the time of the Ptolemies.

2dly, THAT no time, between the building of Alexandria and the time of the Ptolemies, could it be ſwallowed up by the river, or its ſituation unknown.

3dly, THAT great part of it having been built upon an eminence on the ſide of a hill, eſpecially the large and magnificent edifices I have ſpoken of, it could not be ſituated, as he ſays, low in the bed of the river; for, upon the giving way of the Memphitic rampart, it would be ſwallowed up by it.

IF it was ſwallowed up by the river, it was not Geeza; and this accident muſt have been ſince Strabo's time, which Dr Shaw will not aver; and it is by much too looſe arguing to ſay, firſt, that the place was deſtroyed by the violent overflowing of the river, and then pretend its ſituation to be Geeza, where a river never came.

THE deſcent of the hill to where the Pyramids were, and the number of Pyramids that were there around it, of which three are remarkable; the very ſandy ſituation, and the

quantity of looſe flying hillocks that were there (dangerous in windy weather to travellers) are very ſtrong pictures of the Saccara, the neighbourhood of Metrahenny and Mohannan, but they have not the ſmalleſt or moſt diſtant reſemblance to any part in the neighbourhood of Geeza.

It will be aſked, Where are all thoſe temples, the Serapium, the Temple of Vulcan, the Circus, and Temple of Venus? Are they found near Metrahenny?

To this I anſwer, Are they found at Geeza? No, but had they been at Geeza, they would have ſtill been viſible, as they are at Thebes, Dioſpolis, and Syene, becauſe they are ſurrounded with black earth not moveable by the wind. Vaſt quantities of theſe ruins, however, are in every ſtreet of Cairo: every wall, every Bey's ſtable, every ciſtern for horſes to drink at, preſerve part of the magnificent remains that have been brought from Memphis or Metrahenny.—The reſt are covered with the moving ſands of the Saccara; as the ſphinxes and buildings that had been deſerted were in Strabo's time for want of graſs and roots, which always ſpread and keep the ſoil firm in populous inhabited places, the ſands of the deſerts are let looſe upon them, and have covered them *probably for ever*.

A man's heart fails him in looking to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of Metrahenny. He is loſt in the immenſe expanſe of deſert, which he ſees full of Pyramids before him. Struck with terror from the unuſual ſcene of vaſtneſs opened all at once upon leaving the palm-trees, he becomes diſpirited from the effects of ſultry climates.

From

From habits of idleneſs contracted at Cairo, from the ſtories he has heard of the bad government and ferocity of the people, from want of language and want of plan, he ſhrinks from the attempting any diſcovery in the moving ſands of the Saccara, embraces in ſafety and in quiet the reports of others, whom he thinks have been more inquiſitive and more adventurous than himſelf.

Thus, although he has created no new error of his own, he is acceſſary to the having corroborated and confirmed the ancient errors of others; and, though people travel in the ſame numbers as ever, phyſics and geography continue at a ſtand.

In the morning of the 14th of December, after having made our peace with Abou Cuſſi, and received a multitude of apologies and vows of amendment and fidelity for the future, we were drinking coffee preparatory to our leaving Metrahenny, and beginning our voyage in earneſt, when an Arab arrived from my friend the Howadat, with a letter, and a few dates, not amounting to a hundred.

The Arab was one of his people that had been ſick, and wanted to go to Kenné in Upper Egypt. The Shekh expreſſed his deſire that I would take him with me this trifle of about two hundred and fifty miles, that I would give him medicines, cure his diſeaſe, and maintain him all the way.

On theſe occaſions there is nothing like ready compliance. He had offered to carry me the ſame journey with all my people and baggage without hire; he conducted me with ſafety and great politeneſs to the Saccara; I there-

fore anſwered inſtantly, " You ſhall be very welcome, upon my head be it." Upon this the miſerable wretch, half naked, laid down a dirty clout containing about ten dates, and the Shekh's ſervant that had attended him returned in triumph.

I MENTION this trifling circumſtance, to ſhew how eſſential to humane and civil intercourſe preſents are conſidered to be in the eaſt; whether it be dates, or whether it be diamonds, they are ſo much a part of their manners, that, without them an inferior will never be at peace in his own mind, or think that he has a hold of his ſuperior for his favour or protection.

CHAP. IV.

Leave Metrahenny—Come to the Iſland Halouan—Falſe Pyramid—Theſe buildings end—Sugar Canes—Ruins of Antinopolis—Reception there.

OUR wind was fair and freſh, rather a little on our beam; when, in great ſpirits, we hoiſted our main and fore-ſails, leaving the point of Metrahenny, where our reader may think we have too long detained him. We ſaw the Pyramids of Saccara ſtill S. W. of us; ſeveral villages on both ſides of the river, but very poor and miſerable; part of the ground on the eaſt ſide had been overflowed, yet was not ſown; a proof of the oppreſſion and diſtreſs the huſbandman ſuffers in the neighbourhood of Cairo, by the avarice and diſagreement of the different officers of that motely incomprehenſible government.

AFTER ſailing about two miles, we ſaw three men fiſhing in a very extraordinary manner and ſituation. They were on a raft of palm branches, ſupported on a float of clay jars, made faſt together. The form was like an Iſoſceles triangle, or face of a Pyramid; two men, each provided with a caſting net, ſtood at the two corners, and threw their net into the ſtream together; the third ſtood at the apex of the triangle, or third corner, which was foremoſt, and threw his net the moment the other two drew theirs out

of the water. And this they repeated, in perfect time, and with ſurpriſing regularity. Our Rais thought we wanted to buy fiſh; and letting go his main-ſail, ordered them on board with a great tone of ſuperiority.

They were in a moment alongſide of us; and one of them came on board, laſhing his miſerable raft to a rope at our ſtern. In recompence for their trouble, we gave them ſome large pieces of tobacco, and this tranſported them ſo much, that they brought us a baſket, of ſeveral different kinds of fiſh, all ſmall; excepting one laid on the top of the baſket, which was a clear ſalmon-coloured fiſh, ſilvered upon its ſides, with a ſhade of blue upon its back*. It weighed about 10 lib. and was moſt excellent, being perfectly firm and white like a perch. There are ſome of this kind 70 lib. weight. I examined their nets, they were rather of a ſmaller circumference than our caſting nets in England; the weight, as far as I could gueſs, rather heavier in proportion than ours, the thread that compoſed them being ſmaller. I could not ſufficiently admire their ſucceſs, in a violent ſtream of deep water, ſuch as the Nile; for the river was at leaſt twelve feet deep where they were fiſhing, and the current very ſtrong.

These fiſhers offered willingly to take me upon the raft to teach me; but I cannot ſay my curioſity went ſo far. They ſaid their fiſhing was merely accidental, and in courſe of their trade, which was ſelling theſe potter earthen jars, which they got near Aſhmounein; and after having carried the

* Named *Binny*. See Appendix.

the raft with them to Cairo, they untie, ſell them at the market, and carry the produce home in money, or in neceſſaries upon their back. A very poor œconomical trade, but ſufficient, as they ſaid, from the carriage of crude materials, the moulding, making, and ſending them to market, to Cairo and to different places in the Delta, to afford occupation to two thouſand men; this is nearly four times the number of people employed in the largeſt iron foundery in England. But the reader will not underſtand, that I warrant this fact from any authority but what I have given him.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, we came to the point of an iſland; there were ſeveral villages with date trees on both ſides of us; the ground is overflowed by the Nile, and cultivated. The current is very ſtrong here. We paſſed a village called Regnagie, and another named Zaragara, on the eaſt ſide of the Nile. We then came to Caphar el Hayat, or the Toll of the Tailor; a village with great plantations of dates, and the largeſt we had yet ſeen.

We paſſed the night on the S. W. point of the iſland between Caphar el Hayat, and Gizier Azali, the wind failing us about four o'clock. This place is the beginning of the Heracleotic nome, and its ſituation a ſufficient evidence that Metrahenny was Memphis; its name is Halouan.

This iſland is now divided into a number of ſmall ones, by caliſhes being cut through and through it, and, under different Arabic names, they ſtill reach very far up the ſtream. I landed to ſee if there were remains of the olive tree which

Strabo

Strabo* ſays grew here, but without ſucceſs. We may imagine, however, that there was ſome ſuch like thing; becauſe oppoſite to one of the diviſions into which this large iſland is broken, there is a village called Zeitoon, or the Olive Tree.

On the 15th of December, the weather being nearly calm, we left the north end of the iſland, or Heracleotic nome; our courſe was due ſouth, the line of the river; and three miles farther we paſſed Woodan, and a collection of villages, all going by that name, upon the eaſt: to the weſt, or right, were ſmall iſlands, part of the ancient nome of which I have already ſpoken.

The ground is all cultivated about this village, to the foot of the mountains, which is not above four miles; but it is full eight on the weſt, all overflowed and ſown. The Nile is here but ſhallow, and narrow, not exceeding a quarter of a mile broad, and three feet deep; owing, I ſuppoſe, to the reſiſtance made by the iſland in the middle of the current, and by a bend it makes, thus intercepting the ſand brought down by the ſtream.

The mountains here come down till within two miles of Suf el Woodan, for ſo the village is called. We were told there were ſome ruins to the weſtward of this, but only rubbiſh, neither arch nor column ſtanding. I ſuppoſe it is the Aphroditopolis, or the city of Venus, which we are to look for

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 936.

for here, and the nome of that name, all to the eaſtward of it.

The wind ſtill freſhening, we paſſed by ſeveral villages on each ſide, all ſurrounded with palm-trees, verdant and pleaſant, but conveying an idea of ſameneſs and want of variety, ſuch as every traveller muſt have felt who has ſailed in the placid, muddy, green-banked rivers in Holland.

The Nile, however, is here fully a mile broad, the water deep, and the current ſtrong. The wind ſeemed to be exaſperated by the reſiſtance of the ſtream, and blew freſh and ſteadily, as indeed it generally does where the current is violent.

We paſſed Nizelet Embarak, which means the Bleſſed Landing-place. Mr Norden * calls it Gieſiret Barrakaed, which he ſays is the *watering-place of the croſs*. Was this even the proper name here given it, it ſhould be tranſlated the Bleſſed Iſland; but, without underſtanding the language, it is in vain to keep a regiſter of names.

The boatmen, living either in the Delta, Cairo, or one of the great towns in Upper Egypt, and coming conſtantly loaded with merchandiſe, or ſtrangers from theſe great places, make ſwift paſſages by the villages, either down the river with a rapid current, or up with a ſtrong, fair, and ſteady wind: And, when the ſeaſon of the Nile's inundation is over, and the wind turns ſouthward, they repair all to the Delta,

* Norden's travels, vol. ii. p. 19.

the river being no longer navigable above, and there they are employed till the next ſeaſon.

They know little, therefore, and care leſs about the names or inhabitants of theſe villages, who have each of them barks of their own to carry on their own trade. There are ſome indeed employed by the Coptic and Turkiſh merchants, who are better verſed in the names of villages than others; but, if they are not, and find you do not underſtand the language, they will never confeſs ignorance; they will tell you the firſt name that comes uppermoſt, ſometimes very ridiculous, often very indecent, which we ſee afterwards paſs into books, and wonder that ſuch names were ever given to towns.

The reader will obſerve this in comparing Mr Norden's voyage and mine, where he will ſeldom ſee the ſame village paſs by the ſame name. My Rais, Abou Cuffi, when he did not know a village, ſometimes tried this with me. But when he ſaw me going to write, he uſed then to tell me the truth, that he did not know the village; but that ſuch was the cuſtom of him, and his brethren, to people that did not underſtand the language, eſpecially if they were prieſts, meaning Catholic Monks.

We paſſed with great velocity Nizelet Embarak, Cubabac, Nizelet Omar, Racca Kibeer, then Racca Seguier, and came in ſight of Atfia, a large village at ſome diſtance from the Nile; all the valley here is green, the palm-groves beautiful, and the Nile deep.

Still

Still it is not the proſpect that pleaſes, for the whole ground that is ſown to the ſandy aſcent of the mountains, is but a narrow ſtripe of three quarters of a mile broad, and the mountains themſelves, which here begin to have a moderate degree of elevation, and which bound this narrow valley, are white, gritty, ſandy, and uneven, and perfectly deſtitute of all manner of verdure.

At the ſmall village of Racca Seguier there was this remarkable, that it was thick, ſurrounded with trees of a different nature and figure from palms; what they were I know not, I believe they were pomegranate-trees; I thought, that with my glaſs I diſcerned ſome reddiſh fruit upon them; and we had paſſed a village called Rhoda, a name they give in Egypt to pomegranates; Saleah is on the oppoſite, or eaſt-ſide of the river. The Nile divides above the village; it fell very calm, and here we paſſed the night of the fifteenth.

Our Rais Abou Cuffi begged leave to go to Comadreedy, a ſmall village on the weſt of the Nile, with a few palm-trees about it; he ſaid that his wife was there. As I never heard any thing of this till now, I fancied he was going to divert himſelf in the manner he had done the night before he left Cairo; for he had put on his black ſurtout, or great coat, his ſcarlet turban, and a new ſcarlet ſhaul, both of which he ſaid he had brought, to do me honour in my voyage.

I thanked him much for his conſideration, but aſked him why, as he was a Sherriffe, he did not wear the *green turban* of Mahomet? He anſwered, Poh! that was a trick

put upon ſtrangers; there were many men who wore green turbans, he ſaid, that were very great raſcals; but he was a *Saint*, which was better than a Sherriffe, and was known as ſuch all over the world, whatever colour of a turban he wore, or whether a turban at all, and he only dreſſed for my honour; would be back early in the morning, and bring me a fair wind.

"HASSAN, ſaid I, I fancy it is much more likely that you "bring me ſome aquavitæ, if you do not drink it all." He promiſed that he would ſee and procure ſome, for mine was now at an end. He ſaid, the Prophet never forbade aquavitæ, only the drinking of wine; and the prohibition could not be intended for Egypt, for there was no wine in it. But Bouza, ſays he, Bouza I will drink, as long as I can walk from ſtem to ſtern of a veſſel, and away he went. I had indeed no doubt he would keep his reſolution of drinking whether he returned or not.

WE kept, as uſual, a very good watch all night, which paſſed without diſturbance. Next day, the 17th, was exceedingly hazy in the morning, though it cleared about ten o'clock. It was, however, ſufficient to ſhew the falſity of the obſervation of the author, who ſays that the Nile* emits no fogs, and in courſe of the voyage we often ſaw other examples of the fallacy of this aſſertion.

IN the afternoon, the people went aſhore to ſhoot pigeons; they were very bad, and black, as it was not the ſeaſon of grain.

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* Herod. lib. ii. cap. 19.

grain. I remained arranging my journal, when, with ſome ſurprize, I ſaw the Howadat Arab come in, and ſit down cloſe to me; however, I was not afraid of any evil intention, having a crooked knife at my girdle, and two piſtols lying by me.

What's this? How now, friend? ſaid I; Who ſent for you? He would have kiſſed my hand, ſaying *Fiardac*, I am under your protection: he then pulled out a rag from within his girdle, and ſaid he was going to Mecca, and had taken that with him; that he was afraid my boatmen would rob him, and throw him into the Nile, or get ſomebody to rob and murder him by the way; and that one of the Moors, Haſſan's ſervant, had been feeling for his money the night before, when he thought him aſleep.

I made him count his ſum, which amounted to 7½ ſequins, and a piece of ſilver, value about half-a-crown, which in Syria they call Abou Kelb, Father Dog. It is the Dutch Lion rampant, which the Arabs, who never call a thing by its right name, term *a dog*.—In ſhort, this treaſure amounted to ſomething more than three guineas; and this he deſired me to keep till we ſeparated. Do not you tell them, ſaid he, and I will throw off my cloaths and girdle, and leave them on board, while I go to ſwim, and when they find I have nothing upon me they will not hurt me.

But what ſecurity, ſaid I, have you that I do not rob you of this, and get you thrown into the Nile ſome night? No, no, ſays he, that I know is impoſſible. I have never been able to ſleep till I ſpoke to you; do with me what you pleaſe, and my money too, only keep me out of the hands

of thofe murderers. "Well, well, faid I, now you have got rid of your money, you are fafe, and you fhall be my fervant; lye before the door of my dining-room all night, they dare not hurt a hair of your head while I am alive."

The Pyramids, which had been on our right hand at different diftances fince we paffed the Saccara, terminated here in one of a very fingular conftruction. About two miles from the Nile, between Suf and Woodan, there is a Pyramid, which at firft fight appears all of a piece; it is of unbaked bricks, and perfectly entire; the inhabitants call it the * Falfe Pyramid. The lower part is a hill exactly fhaped like a Pyramid for a confiderable height. Upon this is continued the fuperftructure in proportion till it terminates like a Pyramid above; and, at a diftance, it would require a good eye to difcern the difference, for the face of the ftone has a great refemblance to clay, of which the Pyramids of the Saccara are compofed.

Hassan Abou Cuffi was as good as his word in one refpect; he came in the night, and had not drunk much fermented liquors; but he could find no fpirits, he faid, and that, to be fure, was one of the reafons of his return; I had fat up a great part of the night waiting a feafon for obfervation, but it was very cloudy, as all the nights had been fince we left Cairo.

The 18th, about eight o'clock in the morning, we prepared to get on our way; the wind was calm, and fouth. I afked

* Dag'our.

I aſked our Rais where his fair wind was which he promiſed to bring? He ſaid, his wife had quarrelled with him all night, and would not give him time to pray; and therefore, ſays he with a very droll face, you ſhall ſee me do all that a Saint can do for you on this occaſion. I aſked him what that was? He made another droll face, "Why, it is to draw "the boat by the rope till the wind *turns fair*." I commended very much this wiſe alternative, and immediately the veſſel began to move, but very ſlowly, the wind being ſtill unfavourable.

On looking into Mr Norden's voyage, I was ſtruck at firſt ſight with this paragraph*: "We ſaw this day abundance of "camels, but they did not come near enough for us to ſhoot "them."—I thought with myſelf, to *ſhoot* camels in Egypt would be very little better than to *ſhoot* men, and that it was very lucky for him the camels did not come near, if that was the only thing that prevented him. Upon looking at the note, I ſee it is a ſmall miſtake of the tranſlator†, who ſays, "that in the original it is Chameaux d'eau, *water-*"*camels*; but whether they are a particular ſpecies of camels, "or a different kind of animal, he does not know.

But

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* Norden's Travels, vol. ii. p. 17.

† I cannot here omit to rectify another ſmall miſtake of the tranſlator, which involves him in a difference with this Author which he did not mean.—

Mr Norden, in the French, ſays, that the maſter of his veſſel being much frightened, "avoit perdu la tramontane;" the true meaning of which is, That he had loſt his judgment, not loſt the north wind, as it is tranſlated, which is really nonſenſe.

Norden's Travel., vol. ii. p. 50.

But this is no ſpecies of camel, it is a bird called a Pelican, and the proper name in Arabic, is Jimmel el Bahar, the Camel of the River. The other bird like a partridge, which Mr Norden's people ſhot, and did not know its name, and which was better than a pigeon, is called Gooto, very common in all the deſert parts of Africa. I have drawn them of many different colours. That of the Deſerts of Tripoli, and Cyrenaicum, is very beautiful; that of Egypt is ſpotted white like the Guinea-fowl, but upon a brown ground, not a blue one, as that latter bird is. However, they are all very bad to eat, but they are not of the ſame kind with the partridge. Its legs and feet are all covered with feathers, and it has but two toes before. The Arabs imagine it feeds on ſtones, but its food is inſects.

After Comadreedy, the Nile is again divided by another fragment of the iſland, and inclines a little to the weſtward. On the caſt is the village Sidi Ali el Courani. It has only two palm-trees belonging to it, and on that account hath a deſerted appearance; but the wheat upon the banks was five inches high, and more advanced than any we had ſeen. The mountains on the caſt-ſide come down to the banks of the Nile, are bare, white, and ſandy, and there is on this ſide no appearance of villages.

The river here is about a quarter of a mile broad, or ſomething more. It ſhould ſeem it was the Angyrorum Civitas of Ptolemy, but neither night nor day could I get an inſtant for obſervation, on account of thin white clouds, which confuſed (for they ſcarce can be ſaid to cover) the heavens continually.

We

We paſſed now a convent of cophts, with a ſmall plantation of palms. It is a miſerable building, with a dome like to a ſaint's or marabout's, and ſtands quite alone.

About four miles from this is the village of Nizelet el Arab, conſiſting of miſerable huts. Here begin large plantations of ſugar canes, the firſt we had yet ſeen; they were then loading boats with theſe to carry them to Cairo. I procured from them as many as I deſired. The canes are about an inch and a quarter in diameter, they are cut in round pieces about three inches long, and, after having been ſlit, they are ſteeped in a wooden bowl of water. They give a very agreeable taſte and flavour to it, and make it the moſt refreſhing drink in the world, whilſt by imbibing the water, the canes become more juicy, and loſe a part of their heavy clammy ſweetneſs, which would occaſion thirſt. I was ſurprized at finding this plant in ſuch a ſtate of perfection ſo far to the northward. We were now ſcarcely arrived in lat. 29°, and nothing could be more beautiful and perfect than the canes were.

I apprehend they were originally a plant of the old continent, and tranſported to the new, upon its firſt diſcovery, becauſe here in Egypt they grow from ſeed. I do not know if they do ſo in Brazil, but they have been in all times the produce of Egypt. Whether they have been found elſewhere, I have not had an opportunity of being informed, but it is time that ſome ſkilful perſon, verſed in the hiſtory of plants, ſhould ſeparate ſome of the capital productions of the old, and new continent, from the adventitious, before, from length of time, that which we now know of their hiſtory be loſt.

Sugar, tobacco, red podded or Cayenne pepper, cotton, ſome ſpecies of Solanum, Indigo, and a multitude of others, have not as yet their origin well aſcertained.

Prince Henry of Portugal put his diſcoveries to immediate profit, and communicated what he found new in each part in Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, to where it was wanting. It will be ſoon difficult to aſcertain to each quarter of the world the articles that belong to it, and fix upon thoſe few that are common to all.

Even wheat, the early produce of Egypt, is not a native of it. It grows under the Line, within the Tropics, and as far north and ſouth as we know. Severe northern winters ſeem to be neceſſary to it, and it vegetates vigorouſly in froſt and ſnow. But whence it came, and in what ſhape, is yet left to conjecture.

Though the ſtripe of green wheat was continued all along the Nile, it was interrupted for about half a mile on each ſide of the coptiſh convent. Theſe poor wretches know, that though they may ſow, yet, from the violence of the Arabs, they ſhall never reap, and therefore leave the ground deſolate.

On the ſide oppoſite to Sment, the ſtripe begins again, and continues from Sment to Mey-Moom, about two miles, and from Mey-Moom to Shenuiah, one mile further. In this ſmall ſtripe, not above a quarter of a mile broad, beſides wheat, clover is ſown, which they call Berſine. I don't think it equals what I have ſeen in England, but it is ſown and cultivated in the ſame manner.

Immediately

Immediately behind this narrow ſtripe, the white mountains appear again, ſquare and flat on the top like tables. They ſeem to be laid upon the ſurface of the earth, not inſerted into it, for the ſeveral ſtrata that are divided lye as level as it is poſſible to place them with a rule; they are of no conſiderable height.

We next paſſed Bouſh, a village on the weſt-ſide of the Nile, two miles ſouth of Shenuiah; and, a little further, Beni Ali, where we ſee for a minute the mountains on the right or weſt-ſide of the Nile, running in a line nearly ſouth, and very high. About five miles from Bouſh is the village of Maniareiſh on the eaſt-ſide of the river, and here the mountains on that ſide end.

Boush is about two miles and a quarter from the river. Beni Ali is a large village, and its neighbour, Zeytoom, ſtill larger, both on the weſtern ſhore. I ſuppoſe this laſt was part of the Heracleotic nome, where *Strabo ſays the olive-tree grew, and no where elſe in Egypt, but we ſaw no appearance of the great works once ſaid to have been in that nome. A little farther ſouth is Baiad, where was an engagement between Huſſein Bey, and Ali Bey then in exile, in which the former was defeated, and the latter reſtored to the government of Cairo.

From Maniareiſh to Beni Suef is two miles and a half, and oppoſite to this the mountains appear again of conſiderable height, about twelve miles diſtant. Although Beni Suef

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 936.

is no better built than any other town or village that we had paſſed, yet it intereſts by its extent; it is the moſt conſiderable place we had yet ſeen ſince our leaving Cairo. It has a cacheff and a moſque, with three large ſteeples, and is a market-town.

The country all around is well cultivated, and ſeems to be of the utmoſt fertility; the inhabitants are better cloathed, and ſeemingly leſs miſerable, and oppreſſed, than thoſe we had left behind in the places nearer Cairo.

The Nile is very ſhallow at Beni Suef, and the current ſtrong. We touched ſeveral times in the middle of the ſtream, and came to an anchor at Baha, about a quarter of a mile above Beni Suef, where we paſſed the night.

We were told to keep good watch here all night, that there were troops of robbers on the eaſt-ſide of the water who had lately plundered ſome boats, and that the cacheff either dared not, or would not give them any aſſiſtance. We did indeed keep ſtrict watch, but ſaw no robbers, and were no other way moleſted.

The 18th we had fine weather and a fair wind. Still I thought the villages were beggarly, and the conſtant groves of palm-trees ſo perfectly verdant, did not compenſate for the penury of ſown land, the narrowneſs of the valley, and barrenneſs of the mountains.

We paſſed Manſura, Gadami, Magaga, Malatiah, and other ſmall villages, ſome of them not conſiſting of fifteen houſes. Then follow Gundiah and Kerm on the weſt-ſide of the river,

river, with a large plantation of dates, and four miles further Sharuni. All the way from Bouſh there appeared no mountains on the weſt ſide, but large plantations of dates, which extended from Gundiah four miles.

From this to Abou Azeeze, frequent plantations of ſugar canes were now cutting. All about Kafoor is ſandy and barren on both ſides of the river. Etfa is on the weſt ſide of the Nile, which here again makes an iſland. All the houſes have now receptacles for pigeons on their tops, from which is derived a conſiderable profit. They are made of earthen pots one above the other, occupying the upper ſtory, and giving the walls of the turrets a lighter and more ornamented appearance.

We arrived in the evening at Zohora, about a mile ſouth of Etfa. It conſiſts of three plantations of dates, and is five miles from Miniet, and there we paſſed the night of the 18th of December.

There was nothing remarkable till we came to Barkaras, a village on the ſide of a hill, planted with thick groves of palm-trees.

The wind was ſo high we ſcarcely could carry our ſails; the current was ſtrong at Shekh Temine, and the violence with which we went through the water was terrible. My Rais told me we ſhould have ſlackened our ſails, if it had not been, that, ſeeing me curious about the conſtruction of the veſſel and her parts, and as we were in no danger of ſtriking, though the water was low, he wanted to ſhew me what ſhe could do.

I thanked

I THANKED him for his kindneſs. We had all along preſerved ſtrict friendſhip. Never fear the banks, ſaid I; for I know if there is one in the way, you have nothing to do but to bid him begone, and he will hurry to one ſide directly. "I have had paſſengers, ſays he, who would believe "that, and more than that, when I told them; but there is "no occaſion I ſee to waſte much time with you in ſpeak-"ing of miracles."

"YOU are miſtaken, Rais, I replied, very much miſtaken; "I love to hear modern miracles vaſtly, there is always ſome "amuſement in them."—"Aboard your Chriſtian ſhips, ſays "he, you always have a prayer at twelve o'clock, and drink "a glaſs of brandy; ſince you won't be a Turk like me, I "wiſh at leaſt you would be a Chriſtian."—Very fairly put, ſaid I, Haſſan, let your veſſel keep her wind if there is no danger, and I ſhall take care to lay in a ſtock for the whole voyage at the firſt town in which we can purchaſe it.

WE paſſed by a number of villages on the weſtern ſhore, the eaſtern ſeeming to be perfectly unpeopled: Firſt, Feſhné, a conſiderable place; then *Miniet, or the ancient Phylæ, a large town which had been fortified towards the water, at leaſt there were ſome guns there. A rebel Bey had taken poſſeſſion of it, and it was uſual to ſtop here, the river being both narrow and rapid; but the Rais was in great ſpirits, and reſolved to hold his wind, as I had deſired him, and nobody made us any ſignal from ſhore.

WE

* Signifies the Narrow Paſſage, and is meant what *Phylæ* is in Latin.

We came to a village called Rhoda, whence we ſaw the magnificent ruins of the ancient city of Antinous, built by Adrian. Unluckily I knew nothing of theſe ruins when I left Cairo, and had taken no pains to provide myſelf with letters of recommendation as I could eaſily have done. Perhaps I might have found it difficult to avail myſelf of them, and it was, upon the whole, better as it was.

I asked the Rais what ſort of people they were? He ſaid that the town was compoſed of very bad Turks, very bad Moors, and very bad Chriſtians; that ſeveral devils had been ſeen among them lately, who had been diſcovered by being better and quieter than any of the reſt.—The Nubian geographer informs us, that it was from this town Pharaoh brought his magicians, to compare their powers with thoſe of Moſes; an anecdote worthy that great hiſtorian.

I told the Rais, that I muſt, of neceſſity, go aſhore, and aſked him, if the people of this place had no regard for ſaints? that I imagined, if he would put on his red turban as he did at Comadreedy for my honour, it would then appear that he was a ſaint, as he before ſaid he was known to be all the world over. He did not ſeem to be fond of the expedition; but hauling in his main-ſail, and with his foreſail full, ſtood S. S. E. directly under the Ruins. In a ſhort time we arrived at the landing-place; the banks are low, and we brought up in a kind of bight or ſmall bay, where there was a ſtake, ſo our veſſel touched very little, or rather ſwung clear.

Abou Cuffi's ſon Mahomet, and the Arab, went on ſhore, under pretence of buying ſome proviſion, and to ſee how the

the land lay, but after the character we had of the inhabitants, all our fire-arms were brought to the door of the cabin. In the mean time, partly with my naked eye and partly with my glaſs, I obſerved the ruins ſo attentively as to be perfectly in love with them.

These columns of the angle of the portico were ſtanding fronting to the north, part of the tympanum, cornice, frize, and architrave, all entire, and very much ornamented; thick trees hid what was behind. The columns were of the largeſt ſize and fluted; the capitals Corinthian, and in all appearance entire. They were of white Parian marble probably, but had loſt the extreme whiteneſs, or poliſh, of the Antinous at Rome, and were changed to the colour of the fighting gladiator, or rather to a brighter yellow. I ſaw indiſtinctly, alſo, a triumphal arch, or gate of the town, in the very ſame ſtyle; and ſome blocks of very white ſhining ſtone, which ſeemed to be alabaſter, but for what employed I do not know.

No perſon had yet ſtirred, when all on a ſudden we heard the noiſe of Mahomet and the Moor in ſtrong diſpute. Upon this the Rais ſtripping off his coat, leaped aſhore, and ſlipped off the rope from the ſtake, and another of the Moors ſtuck a ſtrong perch or pole into the river, and twiſted the rope round it. We were in a bight, or calm place, ſo that the ſtream did not move the boat.

Mahomet and the Moor came preſently in ſight; the people had taken Mahomet's turban from him, and they were apparently on the very worſt terms. Mahomet cried to us, that the whole town was coming, and getting near

the boat, he and the Moor jumped in with great agility. A number of people was aſſembled, and three ſhots were fired at us, very quickly, the one after the other.

I CRIED out in Arabic, "Infidels, thieves, and robbers! come "on, or we ſhall preſently attack you:" upon which I immediately fired a ſhip-blunderbuſs with piſtol ſmall bullets, but with little elevation, among the buſhes, ſo as not to touch them. The three or four men that were neareſt fell flat upon their faces, and ſlid away among the buſhes on their bellies, like eels, and we ſaw no more of them.

WE now put our veſſel into the ſtream, filled our foreſail, and ſtood off, Mahomet crying, Be upon your guard, if you are men, we are the Sanjack's ſoldiers, and will come for the turban to-night. More we neither heard nor ſaw.

WE were no ſooner out of their reach, than our Rais, filling his pipe, and looking very grave, told me to thank God that I was in the veſſel with ſuch a man as he was, as it was owing to that only I eſcaped from being murdered a-ſhore. "Certainly, ſaid I, Haſſan, under God, the way of "eſcaping from being murdered on land, is never to go "out of the boat, but don't you think that my blunderbuſs "was as effectual a mean as your holineſs? Tell me, Maho-"met, What did they do to you?" He ſaid, They had not ſeen us come in, but had heard of us ever ſince we were at Metrahenny, and had waited to rob or murder us; that upon now hearing we were come, they had all ran to their houſes for their arms, and were coming down, immediately, to plunder the boat; upon which he and the Moor ran off, and being met by theſe three people, and the boy, on

the road, who had nothing in their hands, one of them ſnatched the turban off. He likewiſe added, that there were two parties in the town; one in favour of Ali Bey, the other friends to a rebel Bey who had taken Miniet; that they had fought, two or three days ago, among themſelves, and were going to fight again, each of them having called Arabs to their aſſiſtance. "Mahomet Bey, ſays my Howadat "Arab, will come one of theſe days with the ſoldiers, "and bring our Shekh and people with him, who will "burn their houſes, and deſtroy their corn, that they will "be all ſtarved to death next year."

Hassan and his ſon Mahomet were violently exaſperated, and nothing would ſerve them but to go in again near the ſhore, and fire all the guns and blunderbuſſes among the people. But, beſides that I had no inclination of that kind, I was very loth to fruſtrate the attempts of ſome future traveller, who may add this to the great remains of architecture we have preſerved already.

It would be a fine outſet for ſome engraver; the elegance and importance of the work are certain. From Cairo the diſtance is but four days pleaſant and ſafe navigation, and in quiet times, protection might, by proper means, be eaſily enough obtained at little expence.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Voyage to Upper Egypt continued—Aſhmouncin, Ruins there—Gawa Kibeer Ruins—Mr Norden miſtaken—Achmim—Convent of Catholics—Dendera—Magnificent Ruins—Adventure with a Saint there.

THE Rais's curioſity made him attempt to prevail with me to land at Reremont, three miles and a half off, juſt a-head of us; this I underſtood was a Coptic Chriſtian town, and many of Shekh Abadé's people were Chriſtians alſo. I thought them too near to have any thing to do with either of them. At Reremont there are a great number of Perſian wheels, to draw the water for the ſugar canes, which belong to Chriſtians. The water thus brought up from the river runs down to the plantations, below or behind the town, after being emptied on the banks above; a proof that here the deſcent from the mountains is not an optic fallacy, as Dr Shaw ſays.

We paſſed Aſhmounein, probably the ancient Latopolis, a large town, which gives the name to the province, where there are magnificent ruins of Egyptian architecture; and after that we came to Melawé, larger, better built, and better inhabited than Aſhmounein, the reſidence of the Cacheff. Mahomet Aga was there at that time with troops from Cairo, he had taken Miniet, and, by the friendſhip

of Shekh Hamam, the great Arab, governor of Upper Egypt, he kept all the people on that ſide of the river in their allegiance to Ali Bey.

I HAD ſeen him at Cairo, and Riſk had ſpoken to him to do me ſervice if he met with me, which he promiſed. I called at Melawé to complain of our treatment at Shekh Abadé, and ſee if I could engage him, as he had nothing elſe to employ him, to pay a viſit to my friends at that inhoſpitable place. This I was told he would do upon the ſlighteſt intimation. He, unfortunately, however, happened to be out upon ſome party; but I was lucky in getting an old Greek, a ſervant of his, who knew I was a friend, both to the Bey and to his Patriarch.

HE brought me about a gallon of brandy, and a jar of lemons and oranges, preſerved in honey; both very agreeable. He brought likewiſe a lamb, and ſome garden-ſtuffs. Among the ſweetmeats was ſome horſe-raddiſh preſerved like ginger, which certainly, though it might be wholeſome, was the very worſt ſtuff ever I taſted. I gave a good ſquare piece of it, well wrapt in honey, to the Rais, who coughed and ſpit half an hour after, crying he was poiſoned.

I SAW he did not wiſh me to ſtay at Melawé, as he was afraid of the Bey's troops, that they might engage him in their ſervice to carry them down, ſo went away with great good will, happy in the acquiſition of the brandy, declaring he would carry ſail as long as the wind held.

We paſſed Mollé, a ſmall village with a great number of acacia trees intermixed with the plantations of palms. Theſe occaſion a pleaſing variety, not only from the difference of the ſhape of the tree, but alſo from the colour and diverſity of the green.

As the ſycamore in Lower Egypt, ſo this tree ſeems to be the only indigenous one in the Thebaid. It is the Acacia Vera, or the Spina Egyptiaca, with a round yellow flower. The male is called the Saiel; from it proceeds the gum arabic, upon inciſion with an ax. This gum chiefly comes from Arabia Petrea, where theſe trees are moſt numerous. But it is the tree of all deſerts, from the northmoſt part of Arabia, to the extremity of Ethiopia, and its leaves the only food for camels travelling in thoſe deſert parts. This gum is called Sumach in the weſt of Africa, and is a principal article of trade on the Senega among the Ialofes.

A large plantation of Dates reaches all along the weſt ſide, and ends in a village called Maſara. Here the river, though broad, happened to be very ſhallow; and by the violence with which we went, we ſtuck upon a ſand bank ſo faſt, that it was after ſun-ſet before we could get off; we came to an anchor oppoſite to Maſara the night of the 19th of December.

On the 20th, early in the morning, we again ſet ſail and paſſed two villages, the firſt called Welled Behi, the next Salem, about a mile and a half diſtant from each other on the weſt ſide of the Nile. The mountains on the weſt ſide of the valley are about ſixteen miles off, in a high even ridge, running in a direction ſouth-eaſt; while the moun-

tains,

tains on the eaſt run in a parellel direction with the river, and are not three miles diſtant.

We paſſed Deirout on the eaſt ſide, and another called Zohor, in the ſame quarter, ſurrounded with palms; then Siradé on the eaſt ſide alſo, where is a wood of the Acacia, which ſeems very luxuriant; and, though it was now December, and the mornings eſpecially very cold, the trees were in full flower. We paſſed Monfalout, a large town on the weſtern ſhore. It was once an old Egyptian town, and place of great trade; it was ruined by the Romans, but re-eſtabliſhed by the Arabs.

An Arabian * author ſays, that, digging under the foundation of an old Egyptian temple here, they found a crocodile made of lead, with hieroglyphics upon it, which they imagine to be a taliſman, to prevent crocodiles from paſſing further. Indeed, as yet, we had not ſeen any; that animal delights in heat, and, as the mornings were very cold, he keeps himſelf to the ſouthward. The valley of Egypt here is about eight miles from mountain to mountain.

We paſſed Siout, another large town built with the remains of the ancient city † Iſiu. It is ſome miles in land, upon the ſide of a large caliſh, over which there is an ancient bridge. This was formerly the ſtation of the caravan for Sennaar. They aſſembled at Monfalout and Siout, under the protection of a Bey reſiding there. They then paſſed nearly ſouth-weſt, into the ſandy deſert of Libya, to El Wah,

* Meſſoudi. † Itin. Anton. p. 14.

Wah, the Oaſis Magna of antiquity, and ſo into the great Deſert of Selima.

THREE miles beyond Siout, the wind turned directly ſouth, ſo we were obliged to ſtay at Tima the reſt of the 20th. I was wearied with continuing in the boat, and went on ſhore at Tima. It is a ſmall town, ſurrounded like the reſt with groves of palm-trees. Below Tima is Bandini, three miles on the eaſt ſide. The Nile is here full of ſandy iſlands. Thoſe that the inundation has firſt left are all ſown, theſe are chiefly on the eaſt. The others on the weſt were barren and uncultivated; all of them moſtly compoſed of ſand.

I WALKED into the deſert behind the village, and ſhot a conſiderable number of the bird called Gooto, and ſeveral hares likewiſe, ſo that I ſent one of my ſervants loaded to the boat. I then walked down paſt a ſmall village called Nizelet el Himma, and returned by a ſtill ſmaller one called Shuka, about a quarter of a mile from Tima. I was exceedingly fatigued with the heat by the ſouth wind *blowing, and the deep ſand on the ſide of the mountain. I was then beginning my apprenticeſhip, which I fully compleated.

THE people in theſe villages were in appearance little leſs miſerable than thoſe of the villages we had paſſed. They ſeemed ſhy and ſurly at firſt, but, upon converſation, became placid enough. I bought ſome medals from them of no value, and my ſervants telling them I was a phyſician, I gave my advice to ſeveral of the ſick. This reconciled them

* It is called Hamſeen, becauſe it is expected to blow all Penteceſt.

them perfectly, they brought me freſh water and ſome ſugar-canes, which they ſplit and ſteeped in it. If they were ſatisfied, I was very much ſo. They told me of a large ſcene of ruins that was about four miles diſtant, and offered to ſend a perſon to conduct me, but I did not accept their offer, as I was to paſs there next day.

The 21ſt, in the morning, we came to Gawa, where is the ſecond ſcene of ruins of Egyptian architecture, after leaving Cairo. I immediately went on ſhore, and found a ſmall temple of three columns in front, with the capitals entire, and the columns in ſeveral ſeparate pieces. They ſeemed by that, and their ſlight proportions, to be of the moſt modern of that ſpecies of building; but the whole were covered with hieroglyphics, the old ſtory over again, the hawk and the ſerpent, the man ſitting with the dog's head, with the perch, or meaſuring-rod; in one hand, the hemiſphere and globes with wings, and leaves of the banana-tree, as is ſuppoſed, in his other. The temple is filled with rubbiſh and dung of cattle, which the Arabs bring in here to ſhelter them from the heat.

Mr Norden ſays, that theſe are the remains of the ancient Dioſpolis Parva, but, though very loth to differ from him, and without the leaſt deſire of criticiſing, I cannot here be of his opinion. For Ptolemy, I think, makes Dioſpolis Parva about lat. 26° 40′, and Gawa is 27° 20′, which is by much too great a difference. Beſides, Dioſpolis and its nome were far to the ſouthward of Panopolis; but we ſhall ſhew, by undoubted evidence, that Gawa is to the northward.

THERE are two villages of this name oppoſite to each other; the one Gawa Shergieh, which means the Eaſtern Gawa, and this is by much the largeſt; the other Gawa Garbieh. Several authors, not knowing the meaning of theſe terms, call it Gawa Gebery; a word that has no ſignification whatever, but Garbieh means the Weſtern.

I WAS very well pleaſed to ſee here, for the firſt time, two ſhepherd dogs lapping up the water from the ſtream, then lying down in it with great ſeeming leiſure and ſatisfaction. It refuted the old fable, that the dogs living on the banks of the Nile run as they drink, for fear of the crocodile.

ALL around the villages of Gawa Garbieh, and the plantations belonging to them, Meſhta and Raany, with theirs alſo joining them (that is, all the weſt ſide of the river) are cultivated and ſown from the very foot of the mountains to the water's edge, the grain being thrown upon the mud as ſoon as ever the water has left it. The wheat was at this time about four inches in length.

WE paſſed three villages, Shaftour, Commawhaia, and Zinedi; we anchored off Shaftour, and within ſight of Taahta. Taahta is a large village, and in it are ſeveral moſques. On the eaſt is a mountain called Jibbel Heredy, from a Turkiſh ſaint, who was turned into a ſnake, has lived ſeveral hundred years, and is to live for ever. As Chriſtians, Moors, and Turks, all faithfully believe in this, the conſequence is, that abundance of nonſenſe is daily writ and told concerning it. Mr Norden diſcuſſes it at large, and afterwards gravely tells us, he does not believe it; in which I certainly

 muſt

muſt heartily join him, and recommend to my readers to do the ſame, without reading any thing about it.

On the 22d, at night, we arrived at Achmim. I landed my quadrant and inſtruments, with a view of obſerving an eclipſe of the moon; but, immediately after her riſing, clouds and miſt ſo effectually covered the whole heavens, that it was not even poſſible to catch a ſtar of any ſize paſſing the meridian.

Achmim is a very conſiderable place. It belonged once to an Arab prince of that name, who poſſeſſed it by a grant from the Grand Signior, for a certain revenue to be paid yearly. That family is now extinct; and another Arab prince, Hamam Shekh of Furſhout, now rents it for his life-time, from the Grand Signior, with all the country (except Girgé), from Siout to Luxor.

The inhabitants of Achmim are of a very yellow, unhealthy appearance, probably owing to the bad air, occaſioned by a very dirty caliſh that paſſes through the town. There are, likewiſe, a great many trees, buſhes, and gardens, about the ſtagnated water, all which increaſe the bad quality of the air.

There is here what is called a Hoſpice, or Convent of religious Franciſcans, for the entertainment of the converts, or perſecuted Chriſtians in Nubia, *when they can find them.* This inſtitution I ſpeak of at large in the ſequel. One of the laſt princes of the houſe of Medicis, all patrons of learning, propoſed to furniſh them with a compleat obſervatory, with the moſt perfect and expenſive inſtruments; but they refuſed

refuſed them, from a ſcruple leaſt it would give umbrage to the natives. The fear that it ſhould expoſe their own ignorance and idleneſs, I muſt think, entered a little into the conſideration.

They received us civilly, and that was juſt all. I think I never knew a number of prieſts met together, who differed ſo little in capacity and knowledge, having barely a rotine of ſcholaſtic diſputation, on every other ſubject inconceivably ignorant. But I underſtood afterwards, that they were low men, all Italians; ſome of them had been barbers, and ſome of them tailors at Milan; they affected to be all Anti-Copernicans, upon ſcripture principles, for they knew no other aſtronomy.

These prieſts lived in great eaſe and ſafety, were much protected and favoured by this Arab prince Hamam; and their acting as phyſicians reconciled them to the people. They told me there were about eight hundred catholics in the town, but I believe the fifth part of that number would never have been found, even ſuch catholics as they are. The reſt of them were Cophts, and Moors, but a very few of the latter, ſo that the miſſionaries live perfectly unmoleſted.

There was a manufactory of coarſe cotton cloth in the town, to conſiderable extent; and great quantity of poultry, eſteemed the beſt in Egypt, was bred here, and ſent down to Cairo. The reaſon is plain, the great export from Achmim is wheat; all the country about it is ſown with that grain, and the crops are ſuperior to any in Egypt. Thirty-two grains pulled from the ear was equal to forty-nine of the beſt Barbary wheat

gathered in the ſame ſeaſon; a prodigious diſproportion, if it holds throughout. The wheat, however, was not much more forward in Upper Egypt, than that lower down the country, or farther northward. It was little more than four inches high, and ſown down to the very edge of the water.

The people *here* wiſely purſuing agriculture, ſo as to produce wheat in the greateſt quantity, have dates only about their houſes, and a few plantations of ſugar cane near their gardens. As ſoon as they have reaped their wheat, they ſow for another crop, before the ſun has drained the moiſture from the ground. Great plenty of excellent fiſh is caught here at Achmim, particularly a large one called the Binny, a figure of which I have given in the Appendix. I have ſeen them about four feet long, and one foot and a half broad.

The people ſeemed to be very peaceable, and well diſpoſed, but of little curioſity. They expreſſed not the leaſt ſurpriſe at ſeeing my large quadrant and teleſcopes mounted. We paſſed the night in our tent upon the river ſide, without any ſort of moleſtation, though the men are reproached with being very great thieves. But ſeeing, I ſuppoſe, by our lights, that we were awake, they were afraid.

The women ſeldom marry after ſixteen; we ſaw ſeveral with child, who they ſaid were not eleven years old. Yet I did not obſerve that the men were leſs in ſize, leſs vigorous and active in body, than in other places. This, one would not imagine from the appearance theſe young wives make. They are little better coloured than a corpſe, and look

look older at ſixteen, than many Engliſh women at ſixty, ſo that you are to look for beauty here in childhood only.

Achmim appears to be the Panopolis of the ancients, not only by its latitude, but alſo by an inſcription of a very large triumphal arch, a few hundred yards ſouth of the convent. It is built with marble by the Emperor Nero, and is dedicated in a Greek inſcription, ΠΑΝΙ ΘΕΩ. The columns that were in its front are broken and thrown away; the arch itſelf is either ſunk into the ground, or overturned on the ſide, with little ſeparation of the ſeveral pieces.

The 24th of December we left Achmim, and came to the village Shekh Ali on the weſt, two miles and a quarter diſtant. We then paſſed Hamdi, about the ſame diſtance farther ſouth; Aboudarac and Salladi on the eaſt; then Salladi Garbieh, and Salladi Shergieh on the eaſt and weſt, as the names import; and a number of villages, almoſt oppoſite, on each ſide of the river.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Girgé, the largeſt town we had ſeen ſince we left Cairo; which, by the latitude Ptolemy has very rightly placed it in, ſhould be the Dioſpolis Parva, and not Gawa, as Mr Norden makes it. For this we know is the beginning of the Dioſpolitan nome, and is near a remarkable crook of the Nile, as it ſhould be. It is alſo on the weſtern ſide of the river, as Dioſpolis was, and at a proper diſtance from Dendera, the ancient Tentyra, a mark which cannot be miſtaken.

The Nile makes a kind of loop here; is very broad, and the current ſtrong. We paſſed it with a wind at north; but the

the waves ran high as in the ocean. All the country, on both ſides of the Nile, to Girgé, is but one continued grove of palm-trees, in which are ſeveral villages a ſmall diſtance from each other, Doulani, Conſaed, Deirout, and Berdis, on the weſt ſide; Welled Hallifi, and Beni Haled, on the eaſt.

The villages have all a very pictureſque appearance among the trees, from the many pigeon-houſes that are on the tops of them. The mountains on the eaſt begin to depart from the river, and thoſe on the weſt to approach nearer it. It ſeems to me, that, ſoon, the greateſt part of Egypt on the eaſt ſide of the Nile, between Achmim and Cairo, will be deſert; not from the riſing of the ground by the mud, as is ſuppoſed, but from the quantity of ſand from the mountains, which covers the mould or earth ſeveral feet deep. This 24th of December, at night, we anchored between two villages, Beliani and Mobanniny.

Next morning, the 25th, impatient to viſit the greateſt, and moſt magnificent ſcene of ruins that are in Upper Egypt, we ſet out from Beliani, and, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, arrived at Dendera. Although we had heard that the people of this place were the very worſt in Egypt, we were not very apprehenſive. We had two letters from the Bey, to the two principal men there, commanding them, as they would anſwer with their lives and fortunes, to have a ſpecial care that no miſchief befel us; and likewiſe a very preſſing letter to Shekh Hamam at Furſhout, in whoſe territory we were.

I pitched my tent by the river ſide, juſt above our bark, and ſent a meſſage to the two principal people, firſt to the one,

one, then to the other, deſiring them to ſend a proper perſon, for I had to deliver to them the commands of the Bey. I did not chooſe to truſt theſe letters with our boatman; and Dendera is near half a mile from the river. The two men came after ſome delay, and brought each of them a ſheep; received the letters, went back with great ſpeed, and, ſoon after, returned with a horſe and three aſſes, to carry me to the ruins.

Dendera is a conſiderable town at this day, all covered with thick groves of palm-trees, the ſame that Juvenal deſcribes it to have been in his time. Juvenal himſelf muſt have ſeen it, at leaſt once, in paſſing, as he himſelf died in a kind of honourable exile at Syene, whilſt in command there.

Terga fugæ celeri, præſtantibus omnibus inſtant,
Qui vicina colunt umbroſæ Tentyra palmæ.

Juv. Sat. 15. v. 75.

This place is governed by a cacheff appointed by Shekh Hamam. A mile ſouth of the town, are the ruins of two temples, one of which is ſo much buried under ground, that little of it is to be ſeen; but the other, which is by far the moſt magnificent, is entire, and acceſſible on every ſide. It is alſo covered with hieroglyphics, both within and without, all in relief; and of every figure, ſimple and compound, that ever has been publiſhed, or called an hieroglyphic.

The form of the building is an oblong ſquare, the ends of which are occupied by two large apartments, or veſtibules, ſupported by monſtrous columns, all covered with

hieroglyphics likewiſe. Some are in form of men and beaſts; ſome ſeem to be the figures of inſtruments of ſacrifice, while others, in a ſmaller ſize, and leſs diſtinct form, ſeem to be inſcriptions in the current hand of hieroglyphics, of which I ſhall ſpeak at large afterwards. They are all finiſhed with great care.

The capitals are of one piece, and conſiſt of four huge human heads, placed back to back againſt one another, with bat's ears, and an ill-imagined, and worſe-executed, fold of drapery between them.

Above theſe is a large oblong ſquare block, ſtill larger than the capitals, with four flat fronts, diſpoſed like pannels, that is, with a kind of ſquare border round the edges, while the faces and fronts are filled with hieroglyphics; as are the walls and cielings of every part of the temple. Between theſe two apartments in the extremities, there are three other apartments, reſembling the firſt, in every reſpect, only that they are ſmaller.

The whole building is of common white ſtone, from the neighbouring mountains, only thoſe two in which have been ſunk the pirns for hanging the outer doors, (for it ſeems they had doors even in thoſe days) are of granite, or black and blue porphyry.

The top of the temple is flat, the ſpouts to carry off the water are monſtrous heads of ſphinxes; the globes with wings, and the two ſerpents, with a kind of ſhield or breaſt-plate between them, are here frequently repeated, ſuch as we ſee them on the Carthaginian medals.

THE hieroglyphics have been painted over, and great part of the colouring yet remains upon the ſtones, red, in all its ſhades, eſpecially that dark duſky colour called Tyrian Purple; yellow, very freſh; ſky-blue (that is, near the blue of an eaſtern ſky, ſeveral ſhades lighter than ours; green of different ſhades; theſe are all the colours preſerved.

I COULD diſcover no veſtiges of common houſes in Dendera more than in any other of the great towns in Egypt. I ſuppoſe the common houſes of the ancients, in theſe warm countries, were conſtructed of very ſlight materials, after they left their caves in the mountains. There was indeed no need for any other. Not knowing the regularity of the Nile's inundation, they never could be perfectly ſecure in their own minds againſt the deluge; and this ſlight ſtructure of private buildings ſeems to be the reaſon ſo few ruins are found in the many cities once built in Egypt. If there ever were any other buildings, they muſt be now covered with the white ſand from the mountains, for the whole plain to the foot of theſe is o erflowed, and in cultivation. It was no part, either of my plan or inclination, to enter into the detail of this extraordinary architecture. Quantity, and ſolidity, are two principal circumſtances that are ſeen there, with a vengeance.

IT ſtrikes and impoſes on you, at firſt ſight, but the impreſſions are like thoſe made by the ſize of mountains, which the mind does not retain for any conſiderable time after ſeeing them; I think, a very ready hand might ſpend ſix months, from morning to night, before he could copy the hieroglyphics in the inſide of the temple. They are, however, in ſeveral combinations, which have not appeared

in the collection of hieroglyphics. I wonder that, being in the neighbourhood, as we are, of Lycopolis, we never ſee a wolf as an hieroglyphic; and nothing, indeed, but what has ſome affinity to water; yet the wolf is upon all the medals, from which I apprehend that the worſhip of the wolf was but a modern ſuperſtition.

Dendera ſtands on the edge of a ſmall, but fruitful plain; the wheat was thirteen inches high, now at Chriſtmas; their harveſt is in the end of March. The valley is not above five miles wide, from mountain to mountain. Here we firſt ſaw the Doom-tree in great profuſion growing among the palms, from which it ſcarcely is diſtinguiſhable at a diſtance. It is the * Palma Thebaica Cuciofera. Its ſtone is like that of a peach covered with a black bitter pulp, which reſembles a walnut over ripe.

A little before we came to Dendera we ſaw the firſt crocodile, and afterwards hundreds, lying upon every iſland, like large flocks of cattle, yet the inhabitants of Dendera drive their beaſts of every kind into the river, and they ſtand there for hours. The girls and women too, that come to fetch water in jars, ſtand up to their knees in the water for a conſiderable time; and if we gueſs by what happens, their danger is full as little as their fear, for none of them, that ever I heard of, had been bit by a crocodile. However, if the Denderites were as keen and expert hunters of Crocodiles, as ſome † hiſtorians tell us they were formerly, there is ſurely no part in the Nile where they would have better ſport than here, immediately before their own city.

Having

* Theophraſt. Hiſt. Plan. lib. iii. cap. 8—lib. iv. cap. 2. † Strabo lib. vii. p. 941.

HAVING made ſome little acknowledgment to thoſe who had conducted me through the ruins in great ſafety, I returned to the Canja, or rather to my tent, which I placed in the firſt firm ground. I ſaw, at ſome diſtance, a well-dreſſed man, with a white turban, and yellow ſhawl covering it, and a number of ill-looking people about him. As I thought this was ſome quarrel among the natives, I took no notice of it, but went to my tent, in order to rectify my quadrant for obſervation.

As ſoon as our Rais ſaw me enter my tent, he came with expreſſions of very great indignation. "What ſignifies it, ſaid he, that you are a friend to the Bey, have letters to every body, and are at the door of Furſhout, if yet here is a man that will take your boat away from you?"

"SOFTLY, ſoftly, I anſwered, Haſſan, he may be in the right. If Ali Bey, Shekh Hamam, or any body want a boat for public ſervice, I muſt yield mine. Let us hear."

SHEKH Hamam and Ali Bey! ſays he; why it is a fool, an idiot, and an aſs; a fellow that goes begging about, and ſays he is a ſaint; but he is a natural fool, full as much knave as fool however; he is a thief, I know him to be a thief."

IF he is a ſaint, ſaid I, Hagi Haſſan, as you are another, known to be ſo all the world over, I don't ſee why I ſhould interfere; ſaint againſt ſaint is a fair battle."—"It is the Cadi, replies he, and no one elſe."

"COME away with me, ſaid I, Haſſan, and let us ſee this cadi; if it is the cadi, it is not the fool, it may be the knave."

He was ſitting upon the ground on a carpet, moving his head backwards and forwards, and ſaying prayers with beads in his hand. I had no good opinion of him from his firſt appearance, but ſaid, *Salam alicum*, boldy; this ſeemed to offend him, as he looked at me with great contempt, and gave me no anſwer, though he appeared a little diſconcerted by my confidence.

"Are you the *Cafr*, ſaid he, to whom that boat belongs?"

"No, Sir, ſaid I, it belongs to Hagi Haſſan."

"Do you think, ſays he, I call Hagi Haſſan, who is a Sher-
" riffe, *Cafr?*"

"That depends upon the meaſure of your prudence, ſaid
" I, of which as yet I have no proof that can enable me to
" judge or decide."

"Are you the *Chriſtian* that was at the ruins in the morn-
" ing? ſays he."

"I was at the ruins in the morning, replied I, and *I am*
" *a Chriſtian*. Ali Bey calls that denomination of people
" *Nazarani*, that is the Arabic of Cairo and Conſtantinople,
" and I underſtand no other."

"I am, ſaid he, going to Girgé, and this holy ſaint is with
" me, and there is no boat but your's bound that way, for
" which reaſon I have promiſed to take him with me."

By

By this time the *ſaint* had got into the boat, and ſat forward; he was an ill-favoured, low, ſick-like man, and ſeemed to be almoſt blind.

You ſhould not make raſh promiſes, ſaid I to the cadi, for this one you made you never can perform; I am not going to Girgé. Ali Bey, *whoſe ſlave you are*, gave me this boat, but told me, I was not to ſhip either ſaints or cadies. There is my boat, go a-board if you dare; and you, Hagi Haſſan, let me ſee you lift an oar, or looſe a ſail, either for the cadi or the ſaint, if I am not with them.

I went to my tent, and the Rais followed me. "Hagi "Haſſan, ſaid I, there is a proverb in my country, It is bet- "ter to flatter fools than to fight them: Cannot you go to "the fool, and give him half-a-crown? will he take it, do "you think, and abandon his journey to Girgé? after- "wards leave me to ſettle with the cadi for his voyage thi- "ther."

"He will take it with all his heart, he will kiſs your hand "for half-a-crown, ſays Haſſan."

"Let him have half-a-crown from me, ſaid I, and deſire "him to go about his buſineſs, and intimate that I give him "it in charity, at ſame time expect compliance with the "condition."

In the interim, a Chriſtian Copht came into the tent: "Sir, ſaid he, you don't know what you are doing; the cadi "is a great man, give him his preſent, and have done with "him."

"When

"When he behaves better, it will be time enough for that, "ſaid I?—If you are a friend of his, adviſe him to be quiet, "before an order comes from Cairo by a Serach, and car- "ries him thither. Your countryman Riſk would not give "me the advice you do?"

Risk! ſays he; Do you know Riſk? Is not that Riſk's writing, ſaid I, ſhewing him a letter from the Bey? Wallah! (by God) it is, ſays he, and away he went without ſpeaking a word farther.

The ſaint had taken his half-crown, and had gone away ſinging, it being now near dark.—The cadi went away, and the mob diſperſed, and we directed a Moor to cry, That all people ſhould, in the night-time, keep away from the tent, or they would be fired at; a ſtone or two were afterwards thrown, but did not reach us.

I finished my obſervation, and aſcertained the latitude of Dendera, then packed up my inſtruments, and ſent them on board.

Mr Norden ſeems greatly to have miſtaken the poſition of this town, which, conſpicuous and celebrated as it is by ancient authors, and juſtly a principal point of attention to modern travellers, he does not ſo much as deſcribe; and, in his map, he places Dendera twenty or thirty miles to the ſouthward of Badjoura; whereas it is about nine miles to the northward. For Badjoura is in lat. 26° 3′, and Dendera is in 26° 10′.

It is a great pity, that he who had a taſte for this very remarkable kind of architecture, ſhould have paſſed it, both in going up and coming down; as it is, beyond compariſon, a place that would have given more ſatisfaction than all Upper Egypt.

While we were ſtriking our tent, a great mob came down, but without the cadi. As I ordered all my people to take their arms in their hands, they kept at a very conſiderable diſtance; but the fool, or ſaint, got into the boat with a yellow flag in his hand, and ſat down at the foot of the main-maſt, ſaying, with an idiot ſmile, That we ſhould fire, for he was out of the reach of the ſhot; ſome ſtones were thrown, but did not reach us.

I ordered two of my ſervants with large braſs ſhip-blunderbuſſes, very bright and glittering, to get upon the top of the cabbin. I then pointed a wide-mouthed Swediſh blunderbuſs from one of the windows, and cried out, Have a care;—the next ſtone that is thrown I fire my cannon amongſt you, which will ſweep away 300 of you inſtantly from the face of the earth; though I believe there were not above two hundred then preſent.

I ordered Hagi Haſſan to caſt off his cord immediately, and, as ſoon as the blunderbuſs appeared, away ran every one of them, and, before they could collect themſelves to return, our veſſel was in the middle of the ſtream. The wind was fair, though not very freſh, on which we ſet both our ſails, and made great way.

The ſaint, who had been ſinging all the time we were diſputing, began now to ſhew ſome apprehenſions for his own ſafety: He aſked Hagi Haſſan, if this was the way to Girgé? and had for anſwer, "Yes, it is the fool's way to "Girgé."

We carried him about a mile, or more, up the river; then a convenient landing-place offering, I aſked him whether he got my money, or not, laſt night? He ſaid, he had for yeſterday, but he had got none for to-day.—"Now, the next thing I have to aſk you, ſaid I, is, Will you go aſhore of your own accord, or will you be thrown into the Nile? He anſwered with great confidence, Do you know, that, at my word, I can fix your boat to the bottom of the Nile, and make it grow a tree there for ever?" "Aye, ſays Hagi Haſſan, and make oranges and lemons grow on it likewiſe, can't you? You are a cheat." "Come, Sirs, ſaid I, loſe no time, put him out." I thought he had been blind and weak; and the boat was not within three feet of the ſhore, when placing one foot upon the gunnel, he leaped clean upon land.

We ſlacked our veſſel down the ſtream a few yards, filling our ſails, and ſtretching away. Upon ſeeing this, our ſaint fell into a deſperate paſſion, curſing, blaſpheming, and ſtamping with his feet, at every word crying "Shar Ullah!" *i. e.* may God ſend, and do juſtice. Our people began to taunt and gibe him, aſking him if he would have a pipe of tobacco to warm him, as the morning was very cold; but I bade them be content. It was curious to ſee him, as far as we could diſcern, ſometimes ſitting down, ſometimes jumping and ſkipping about, and waving his flag, then running

about

about a hundred yards, as if it were after us; but always returning, though at a ſlower pace.

None of the reſt followed. He was indeed apparently the tool of that raſcal the cadi, and, after his deſigns were fruſtrated, nobody cared what became of him. He was left in the lurch, as thoſe of his character generally are, after ſerving the purpoſe of *knaves*.

CHAP. VI.

Arrive at Furſhout—Adventure of Friar Chriſtopher—Viſit Thebes—Luxor and Carnac—Large Ruins at Edfu and Eſné Proceed on our Voyage.

WE arrived happily at Furſhout that ſame forenoon, and went to the convent of Italian Friars, who, like thoſe of Achmim, are of the order of the reformed Franciſcans, of whoſe miſſion I ſhall ſpeak at large in the ſequel.

We were received more kindly here than at Achmim; but Padre Antonio, ſuperior of that laſt convent, upon which this of Furſhout alſo depends, following us, our good reception ſuffered a ſmall abatement. In ſhort, the good Friars would not let us *buy* meat, becauſe they ſaid it would be a *ſhame* and *reproach* to them; and they would not *give* us any, for fear that ſhould be a reproach to them likewiſe, if it was told in Europe they *lived well.*

After ſome time I took the liberty of providing for myſelf, to which they ſubmitted with chriſtian patience. Yet theſe convents were founded expreſsly with a view, and from a neceſſity of providing for travellers between Egypt and Ethiopia, and we were ſtrictly intitled to that entertainment.

tainment. Indeed there is very little uſe for this inſtitution in Upper Egypt, as long as rich Arabs are there, much more charitable and humane to ſtranger Chriſtians than the Monks.

Furshout is in a large and cultivated plain. It is nine miles over to the foot of the mountains, all ſown with wheat. There are, likewiſe, plantions of ſugar canes. The town, as they ſaid, contains above 10,000 people, but I have no doubt this computation is rather exaggerated.

We waited upon the Shekh Hamam; who was a big, tall, handſome man; I apprehend not far from ſixty. He was dreſſed in a large fox-ſkin peliſſe over the reſt of his cloaths, and had a yellow India ſhawl wrapt about his head, like a turban. He received me with great politeneſs and condeſenſion, made me ſit down by him, and aſked me more about Cairo than about Europe.

The Rais had told him our adventure with the ſaint, at which he laughed very heartily, ſaying, I was a wiſe man. and a man of conduct. To me he only ſaid, "they are bad people at Dendera;" to which I anſwered, "there were very few places in the world in which there were not ſome bad." He replied, "Your obſervation is true, but there they are all bad; reſt yourſelves however here, it is a quiet place; though there are ſtill ſome even in this place not quite ſo good as they *ought* to be."

The Shekh was a man of immenſe riches, and, little by little, had united in his own perſon, all the ſeparate diſtricts

of Upper Egypt, each of which formerly had its particular prince. But his intereſt was great at Conſtantinople, where he applied directly for what he wanted, inſomuch as to give a jealouſy to the Beys of Cairo. He had in farm from the Grand Signior almoſt the whole country, between Siout and Syene, or Aſſouan. I believe this is the Shekh of Upper Egypt, whom Mr Irvine ſpeaks of ſo gratefully. He was betrayed, and murdered ſome time after, by one of the Beys whom he had protected in his own country.

While we were at Furſhout, there happened a very extraordinary phænomenon. It rained the whole night, and till about nine o'clock next morning; and the people began to be very apprehenſive leaſt the whole town ſhould be deſtroyed. It is a perfect prodigy to ſee rain here; and the prophets ſaid it portended a diſſolution of government, which was juſtly verified ſoon afterwards, and at that time indeed was extremely probable.

Furshout is in lat 26° 3′ 30″; above that, to the ſouthward, on the ſame plain, is another large village, belonging to Shekh Iſmael, a nephew of Shekh Hamam. It is *a large town*, built with clay like Furſhout, and ſurrounded with groves of palm trees, and very large plantations of ſugar canes. Here they make ſugar.

Shekh Ismael was a very pleaſant and agreeable man, but in bad health, having a violent aſthma, and ſometimes pleuretic complaints, to be removed by bleeding only. He had given theſe friars a houſe for a convent in Badjoura; but as they had not yet taken poſſeſſion of it, he deſired me to come and ſtay there.

Friar

Friar Christopher, whom I underſtood to have been a Milaneſe barber, was his phyſician, but he had not the ſcience of an Engliſh barber in ſurgery. He could not bleed, but with a ſort of inſtrument reſembling that which is uſed in cupping, only that it had but a ſingle lancet; with this he had been lucky enough as yet to eſcape laming his patients. This bleeding inſtrument they call the Tabange, or the Piſtol, as they do the cupping inſtrument likewiſe. I never could help ſhuddering at ſeeing the confidence with which this man placed a ſmall braſs box upon all ſorts of arms, and drew the trigger for the point to go where fortune pleaſed.

Shekh Ismael was very fond of this ſurgeon, and the ſurgeon of his patron; all would have gone well, had not friar Chriſtopher aimed likewiſe at being an Aſtronomer. Above all he gloried in being a violent enemy to the Copernican ſyſtem, which unluckily he had miſtaken for a hereſy in the church; and partly from his own ſlight ideas and ſtock of knowledge, partly from ſome Milaneſe almanacs he had got, he attempted, the weather being cloudy, to foretel the time when the moon was to change, it being that of the month Ramadan, when the Mahometans' lent, or faſting, was to begin.

It happened that the Badjoura people, and their Shekh Iſmael, were upon indifferent terms with Hamam, and his men of Furſhout, and being deſirous to get a triumph over their neighbours by the help of their friar Chriſtopher, they continued to eat, drink, and ſmoke, two days after the conjunction.

The

The moon had been ſeen the ſecond night, by a Fakir*, in the deſert, who had ſent word to Shekh Hamam, and he had begun his faſt. But Iſmael, aſſured by friar Chriſtopher that it was impoſſible, had continued eating.

The people of Furſhout, meeting their neighbours ſinging and dancing, and with pipes of tobacco in their mouths, *all cried out* with aſtoniſhment, and aſked, "Whether they had "abjured their religion or not?"—From words they came to blows; ſeven or eight were wounded on each ſide, luckily none of them mortally.—Hamam next day came to inquire at his nephew Shekh Iſmael, what had been the occaſion of all this, and to conſult what was to be done, for the two villages had declared one another infidels.

I was then with my ſervants in Badjoura, in great quiet and tranquillity, under the protection, and very much in the confidence of Iſmael; but hearing the hooping, and noiſe in the ſtreets, I had barricadoed my outer-doors. A high wall ſurrounded the houſe and court-yard, and there I kept quiet, ſatisfied with being in perfect ſafety.

In the interim, I heard it was a quarrel about the keeping of Ramadan, and, as I had proviſions, water, and employment enough in the houſe, I reſolved to ſtay at home till they fought it out; being very little intereſted which of them ſhould be victorious.---About noon, I was ſent for to Iſmael's houſe, and found his uncle Hamam with him.

He

* A poor ſaint.

He told me, there were ſeveral wounded in a quarrel about the Ramadan, and recommended them to my care. "About Ramadan, ſaid I! what, your principal faſt! have "you not ſettled that yet?"---Without anſwering me as to this, he aſked, "When does the moon change?" As I knew nothing of friar Chriſtopher's operations, I anſwered, in hours, minutes, and ſeconds, as I found them in the ephemerides.

"Look you there, ſays Hamam, this is fine work!" and, directing his diſcourſe to me, "When ſhall we ſee it?" Sir, ſaid I, that is impoſſible for me to tell, as it depends on the ſtate of the heavens; but, if the ſky is clear, you muſt ſee her to-night; if you had looked for her, probably you would have ſeen her laſt night low in the horizon, thin like a thread; ſhe is now three days old.---He ſtarted at this, then told me friar Chriſtopher's operation, and the conſequences of it.

Ismael was aſhamed, curſed him, and threatned revenge. It was too late to retract, the moon appeared, and ſpoke for herſelf; and the unfortunate friar was diſgraced, and baniſhed from Badjoura. Luckily the pleuretic ſtitch came again, and I was called to bleed him, which I did with a lancet; but he was ſo terrified at its brightneſs, at the ceremony of the towel and the baſon, and at my preparation, that it did not pleaſe him, and therefore he was obliged to be reconciled to Chriſtopher and his tabange.---Badjoura is in lat. 26° 3′ 16″; and is ſituated on the weſtern ſhore of the Nile, as Furſhout is likewiſe.

We

We left Furſhout the 7th of January 1769, early in the morning. We had not hired our boat farther than Furſhout; but the good terms which ſubſiſted between me and the ſaint, my Rais, made an accommodation very eaſy to carry us farther. He now agreed for L. 4 to carry us to Syene and down again; but, if he behaved well, he expected a trifling premium. "And, if you behave ill, Haſſan, "ſaid I, what do you think you deſerve?"---"To be hanged, "ſaid he, I deſerve, and deſire no better."

Our wind at firſt was but ſcant. The Rais ſaid, that he thought his boat did not go as it uſed to do, and that it was growing into a tree. The wind, however, freſhened up towards noon, and eaſed him of his fears. We paſſed a large town called How, on the weſt ſide of the Nile. About four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at El Gourni, a ſmall village, a quarter of a mile diſtant from the Nile. It has in it a temple of old Egyptian architecture. I think that this, and the two adjoining heaps of ruins, which are at the ſame diſtance from the Nile, probably might have been part of the ancient Thebes.

Shaamy and Taamy are two coloſſal ſtatues in a ſitting poſture covered with hieroglyphics. The ſouthmoſt is of one ſtone, and perfectly entire. The northmoſt is a good deal more mutilated. It was probably broken by Cambyſes; and they have ſince endeavoured to repair it. The other has a very remarkable head-dreſs, which can be compared to nothing but a tye-wig, ſuch as worn in the preſent day. Theſe two, ſituated in a very fertile ſpot belonging to Thebes, were apparently the Nilometers of that town, as the marks which the water has left upon the baſes ſufficiently

ſhew. The baſes of both of them are bare, and uncovered, to the bottom of the plinth, or loweſt member of their pedeſtal; ſo that there is not the eighth of an inch of the loweſt part of them covered with mud, though they ſtand in the middle of a plain, and have ſtood there certainly above 3000 years; ſince which time, if the fanciful riſe of the land of Egypt by the Nile had been true, the earth ſhould have been raiſed ſo as fully to conceal half of them both.

These ſtatues are covered with inſcriptions of Greek and Latin; the import of which ſeems to be, that there were certain travellers, or particular people, who heard Memnon's ſtatue utter the ſound it was ſaid to do, upon being ſtruck with the rays of the ſun.

It may be very reaſonably expected, that I ſhould here ſay ſomething of the building and fall of the firſt Thebes; but as this would carry me to very early ages, and interrupt for a long time my voyage upon the Nile; as this is, beſides, connected with the hiſtory of ſeveral nations which I am about to deſcribe, and more proper for the work of an hiſtorian, than the curſory deſcriptions of a traveller, I ſhall defer ſaying any thing upon the ſubject, till I come to treat of it in the firſt of theſe characters, and more eſpecially till I ſhall ſpeak of the origin of the *ſhepherds*, and the calamities brought upon Egypt by that powerful nation, a people often mentioned by different writers, but whoſe hiſtory hitherto has been but imperfectly known.

Nothing remains of the ancient Thebes but four prodigious temples, all of them in appearance more ancient, but neither ſo entire, nor ſo magnificent, as thoſe of Dendera.

The temples at Medinet Tabu are the moſt elegant of theſe. The hieroglyphics are cut to the depth of half-a-foot, in ſome places, but we have ſtill the ſame figures, or rather a leſs variety, than at Dendera.

The hieroglyphics are of four ſorts; firſt, ſuch as have only the contour marked, and, as it were, ſcratched only in the ſtone. The ſecond are hollowed; and in the middle of that ſpace riſes the figure in relief, ſo that the prominent part of the figure is equal to the flat, unwrought ſurface of the ſtone, and ſeems to have a frame round it, deſigned to defend the hieroglyphic from mutilation. The third ſort is in relief, or baſſo relievo, as it is called, where the figure is left bare and expoſed, without being ſunk in, or defended, by any compartment cut round it in the ſtone. The fourth are thoſe mentioned in the beginning of this deſcription, the outlines of the figure being cut very deep in the ſtone.

All the hieroglyphics, but the laſt mentioned, which do not admit it, are painted red, blue, and green, as at Dendera, and with no other colours.

Notwithstanding all this variety in the manner of executing the hieroglyphical figures, and the prodigious multitude which I have ſeen in the ſeveral buildings, I never could make the number of different hieroglyphics amount to more than five hundred and fourteen, and of theſe there were certainly many, which were not really different, but from the ill execution of the ſculpture only appeared ſo. From this I conclude, certainly, that it can be no entire language which hieroglyphics are meant to contain, for no language

language could be comprehended in five hundred words, and it is probable that theſe hieroglyphics are not *alphabetical*, or *ſingle letters* only; for five hundred letters would make *too large* an alphabet. The Chineſe indeed have many more letters in uſe, but have no alphabet, but *who is it that underſtands the Chineſe?*

THERE are three different characters which, I obſerve, have been in uſe at the ſame time in Egypt, Hieroglyphics, the Mummy character, and the Ethiopic. Theſe are all three found, as I have ſeen, on the ſame mummy, and therefore were certainly uſed at the ſame time. The laſt only I believe was a *language*.

THE mountains immediately above or behind Thebes, are hollowed out into numberleſs caverns, the firſt habitations of the Ethiopian colony which built the city. I imagine they continued long in theſe habitations, for I do not think the temples were ever intended but for *public* and *ſolemn* uſes, and in none of theſe ancient cities did I ever ſee a wall or foundation, or any thing like a private houſe; all are temples and tombs, if temples and tombs in thoſe times were not the ſame thing. But veſtiges of houſes there are none, whatever * Diodorus Siculus may ſay, building with ſtone was too expenſive for individuals; the houſes probably were all of clay, thatched with palm branches, as they are at this day. This is one reaſon why ſo few ruins of the immenſe number of cities we hear of remain.

* Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

Thebes, according to Homer, had a *hundred gates*. We cannot, however, diſcover yet the foundation of any wall that it had; and as for the horſemen and chariots it is ſaid to have ſent out, all the Thebaid ſown with wheat would not have maintained *one-half* of them.

Thebes, at leaſt the ruins of the temples, called Medinet Tabu, are built in a long ſtretch of about a mile broad, moſt parſimonioufly choſen at the ſandy foot of the mountains. The Horti * Penſiles, or hanging gardens, were ſurely formed upon the ſides of theſe hills, then ſupplied with water by mechanical devices. The utmoſt is done to ſpare the plain, and with great reaſon; for all the ſpace of ground this ancient city has had to maintain its myriads of horſes and men, is a plain of three quarters of a mile broad, between the town and the river, upon which plain the water riſes to the height of four, and five feet, as we may judge by the marks on the ſtatues Shaamy and Taamy. All this pretended populouſneſs of ancient Thebes I therefore believe fabulous.

It is a circumſtance very remarkable, in building the firſt temples, that, where the ſide-walls are ſolid, that is, not ſupported by pillars, ſome of theſe have their angles and faces perpendicular, others inclined in a very conſiderable angle to the horizon. Thoſe temples, whoſe walls are inclined, you may judge by the many hieroglyphics and ornaments, are of the firſt ages, or the greateſt antiquity. From which, I am diſpoſed to think, that ſingular conſtruction was a remnant

* Plin. lib. 26. cap. 14.

nant of the partiality of the builders for their firſt domiciles; an imitation of the ſlope*, or inclination of the ſides of mountains, and that this inclination of flat ſurfaces to each other in building, gave afterwards the firſt idea of Pyramids †.

A NUMBER of robbers, who much reſemble our gypſies, live in the holes of the mountains above Thebes. They are all out-laws, puniſhed with death if elſewhere found. Oſman Bey, an ancient governor of Girgé, unable to ſuffer any longer the diſorders committed by theſe people, ordered a quantity of dried faggots to be brought together, and, with his ſoldiers, took poſſeſſion of the face of the mountain, where the greateſt number of theſe wretches were: He then ordered all their caves to be filled with this dry bruſhwood, to which he ſet fire, ſo that moſt of them were deſtroyed; but they have ſince recruited their numbers, without changing their manners.

ABOUT half a mile north of El Gourni, are the magnificent, ſtupendous ſepulchres, of Thebes. The mountains of the Thebaid come cloſe behind the town; they are not run in upon one another like ridges, but ſtand inſulated upon their baſes; ſo that you can get round each of them. A hundred of theſe, it is ſaid, are excavated into ſepulchral, and a variety of other apartments. I went through ſeven of them with a great deal of fatigue. It is a ſolitary place; and

*See Norden's views of the Temples at Eſné and Edfu. Vol. ii. plate 6. p. 80.

† This inclined figure of the ſides, is frequently found in the ſmall boxes within the mummy-cheſts.

and my guides, either from a natural impatience and diſtaſte that theſe people have at ſuch employments, or, that their fears of the banditti that live in the caverns of the mountains were real, importuned me to return to the boat, even before I had begun my ſearch, or got into the mountains where are the many large apartments of which I was in queſt.

In the firſt one of theſe I entered is the prodigious ſarcophagus, ſome ſay of Menes, others of Oſimandyas; poſſibly of neither. It is ſixteen feet high, ten long, and ſix broad, of one piece of red-granite; and, as ſuch, is, I ſuppoſe, the fineſt vaſe in the world. Its cover is ſtill upon it, (broken on one ſide,) and it has a figure in relief on the outſide. It is not probably the tomb of Oſimandyas, becauſe, Diodorus * ſays, that it was ten ſtadia from the tomb of the kings; whereas this is one among them.

There have been ſome ornaments at the outer-pillars, or outer-entry, which have been broken and thrown down. Thence you deſcend through an inclined paſſage, I ſuppoſe, about twenty feet broad; I ſpeak only by gueſs, for I did not meaſure. The ſide-walls, as well as the roof of this paſſage, are covered with a coat of ſtucco, of a finer and more equal grain, or ſurface, than any I ever ſaw in Europe. I found my black-lead pencil little more worn by it than by writing upon paper.

Upon

* Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

Upon the left-hand ſide is the crocodile ſeizing upon the apis, and plunging him into the water. On the right-hand is the *ſcarabæus thebaicus, or the thebaic beetle, the firſt animal that is ſeen alive after the Nile retires from the land; and therefore thought to be an emblem of the reſurrection. My own conjecture is, that the apis was the emblem of the arable land of Egypt; the crocodile, the typhon, or cacodæmon, the type of an over-abundant Nile; that the ſcarabæus was the land which had been overflowed, and from which the water had ſoon retired, and has nothing to do with the reſurrection or immortality, neither of which at that time were in contemplation.

Farther forward on the right-hand of the entry, the pannels, or compartments, were ſtill formed in ſtucco, but, in place of figures in relief, they were painted in freſco. I dare ſay this was the caſe on the left-hand of the paſſage, as well as the right. But the firſt diſcovery was ſo unexpected, and I had flattered myſelf that I ſhould be ſo far maſter of my own time, as to ſee the whole at my leiſure, that I was rivetted, as it were, to the ſpot by the firſt ſight of theſe paintings, and I could proceed no further.

In one pannel were ſeveral muſical inſtruments ſtrowed upon the ground, chiefly of the hautboy kind, with a mouth-piece of reed. There were alſo ſome ſimple pipes or flutes. With them were ſeveral jars apparently of potter-ware, which, having their mouths covered with parchment or ſkin,

* See the figure of this Inſect in Paul Lucas.

ſkin, and being braced on their ſides like a drum, were probably the inſtrument called the *tabor*, or * *tabret*, beat upon by the hands, coupled in earlieſt ages with the harp, and preſerved ſtill in Abyſſinia, though its companion, the laſt-mentioned inſtrument, is no longer known *there*.

In three following pannels were painted, in freſco, three harps, which merited the utmoſt attention, whether we conſider the elegance of theſe inſtruments in their form, and the detail of their parts as they are here clearly expreſſed, or confine ourſelves to the reflection that neceſſarily follows, to how great perfection muſic muſt have arrived, before an artiſt could have produced ſo complete an inſtrument as either of theſe.

As the firſt harp ſeemed to be the moſt perfect, and leaſt ſpoiled, I immediately attached myſelf to this, and deſired my clerk to take upon him the charge of the ſecond. In this way, by ſketching exactly, and looſely, I hoped to have made myſelf maſter of all the paintings in that cave, perhaps to have extended my reſearches to others, though, in the ſequel, I found myſelf miſerably deceived.

My firſt drawing was that of a man playing upon a harp; he was ſtanding, and the inſtrument being broad, and flat at the baſe, probably for that purpoſe, ſupported itſelf eaſily with a very little inclination upon his arm; his head is cloſe ſhaved, his eye-brows black, without beard or muſtaches.

* Gen. xxxi. 27. Iſa. chap. xxx. ver. 32.

Painting in Fresco, in the Sepulchres of Thebes.

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tachoes. He has on him a looſe ſhirt, like what they wear at this day in Nubia (only it is not blue) with looſe ſleeves, and arms and neck bare. It ſeemed to be thick muſlin, or cotton cloth, and long-ways through it is a crimſon ſtripe about one-eighth of an inch broad; a proof, if this is Egyptian manufacture, that they underſtood at that time how to dye cotton, crimſon, an art found out in Britain only a very few years ago. If this is the fabric of India, ſtill it proves the antiquity of the commerce between the two countries, and the introduction of Indian manufactures into Egypt.

It reached down to his ancle; his feet are without ſandals; he ſeems to be a corpulent man, of about ſixty years of age, and of a complexion rather dark for an Egyptian. To gueſs by the detail of the figure, the painter ſeems to have had the ſame degree of merit with a good ſign-painter in Europe, at this day.---If we allow this harper's ſtature to be five feet ten inches, then we may compute the harp, in its extreme length, to be ſomething leſs than ſix feet and a half.

This inſtrument is of a much more advantageous form than the triangular Grecian harp. It has thirteen ſtrings, but wants the forepiece of the frame oppoſite to the longeſt ſtring. The back part is the ſounding-board, compoſed of four thin pieces of wood, joined together in form of a cone, that is, growing wider towards the bottom; ſo that, as the length of the ſtring increaſes, the ſquare of the correſponding ſpace in the ſounding-board, in which the ſound was to undulate, always increaſes in proportion. The whole principles, on which this harp is conſtructed, are rational and

ingenious, and the ornamented parts are executed in the very beſt manner.

The bottom and ſides of the frame ſeem to be fineered, and inlaid, probably with ivory, tortoiſe-ſhell, and mother-of-pearl, the ordinary produce of the neighbouring ſeas and deſerts. It would be even now impoſſible, either to conſtruct or to finiſh a harp of any form with more taſte and elegance. Beſides the proportions of its outward form, we muſt obſerve likewiſe how near it approached to a perfect inſtrument, for it wanted only two ſtrings of having two complete octaves; that theſe were purpoſely omitted, not from defect of taſte or ſcience, muſt appear beyond contradiction, when we conſider the harp that follows.

I had no ſooner finiſhed the harp which I had taken in hand, than I went to my aſſiſtant, to ſee what progreſs he had made in the drawing in which he was engaged. I found, to my very great ſurpriſe, that this harp differed eſſentially, in form and diſtribution of its parts, from the one I had drawn, without having loſt any of its elegance; on the contrary, that it was finiſhed with full more attention than the other. It ſeemed to be fineered with the ſame materials, ivory and tortoiſe-ſhell, but the ſtrings were differently diſpoſed, the ends of the three longeſt, where they joined to the ſounding-board below, were defaced by a hole dug in the wall. Several of the ſtrings in different parts had been ſcraped as with a knife, for the reſt, it was very perfect. It had eighteen ſtrings. A man, who ſeemed to be ſtill older than the former, but in habit perfectly the ſame, bare-footed, cloſe ſhaved, and of the ſame complexion with him, ſtood playing

Painting in Fresco, in the Sepulchres of Thebes.

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Plate V.

playing with both his hands near the middle of the harp, in a manner ſeemingly leſs agitated than in the other.

I WENT back to my firſt harp, verified, and examined my drawing in all its parts; it is with great pleaſure I now give a figure of this ſecond harp to the reader, it was miſlaid among a multitude of other papers, at the time when I was ſolicited to communicate the former drawing to a gentleman then writing the Hiſtory of Muſic, which he has already ſubmitted to the public; it is very lately and unexpectedly this laſt harp has been found; I am only ſorry this accident has deprived the public of Dr Burney's remarks upon it. I hope he will yet favour us with them, and therefore abſtain from anticipating his reflections, as I conſider this as his province; I never knew any one ſo capable of affording the public, new, and at the ſame time juſt lights on this ſubject.

THERE ſtill remained a third harp of ten ſtrings, its preciſe form I do not well remember, for I had ſeen it but once when I firſt entered the cave, and was now preparing to copy that likewiſe. I do not recollect that there was any man playing upon this one, I think it was rather reſting upon a wall, with ſome kind of drapery upon one end of it, and was the ſmalleſt of the three. But I am not at all ſo certain of particulars concerning this, as to venture any deſcription of it; what I have ſaid of the other two may be abſolutely depended upon.

I LOOK upon theſe harps then as the Theban harps in uſe in the time of Seſoſtris, who did not rebuild, but decorate ancient Thebes; I conſider them as affording an in-

conteſtible proof, were they the only monuments remaining, that every art neceſſary to the conſtruction, ornament, and uſe of this inſtrument, was in the higheſt perfection, and if ſo, all the others muſt have probably attained to the ſame degree.

We ſee in particular the ancients then poſſeſſed an art relative to architecture, that of hewing the hardeſt ſtones with the greateſt eaſe, of which we are at this day utterly ignorant and incapable. We have no inſtrument that could do it, no compoſition that could make tools of temper ſufficient to cut baſs reliefs in granite or porphyry ſo readily; and our ignorance in this is the more completely ſhewn, in that we have all the reaſons to believe, the cutting inſtrument with which they did theſe ſurpriſing feats was compoſed of braſs; a metal of which, after a thouſand experiments, no tool has ever been made that could ſerve the purpoſe of a common knife, though we are at the ſame time certain, it was of braſs the ancients made their razors.

These harps, in my opinion, overturn all the accounts hitherto given of the earlieſt ſtate of muſic and muſical inſtruments in the eaſt; and are altogether in their form, ornaments, and compaſs, an inconteſtible proof, ſtronger than a thouſand Greek quotations, that geometry, drawing, mechanics, and muſic, were at the greateſt perfection when this inſtrument was made, and that the period from which we date the invention of theſe arts, was only the beginning of the æra of their reſtoration. This was the ſentiment of Solomon, a writer who lived at the time when this harp was painted: "Is there (ſays Solomon) any thing whereof it may be ſaid,

"See,

"See, this is new! it hath been already of old time which "was before us*."

We find, in theſe very countries, how a later calamity, of the ſame public nature, the conqueſt of the Saracens, occaſioned a ſimilar downfal of literature, by the burning the Alexandrian library under the fanatical caliph Omar. We ſee how ſoon after, they flouriſhed, planted by the ſame hands that before had rooted them out.

The effects of a revolution occaſioned, at the period I am now ſpeaking of, by the univerſal inundation of the *Shepherds*, were the deſtruction of Thebes, the ruin of architecture, and the downfal of aſtronomy in Egypt. Still a remnant was left in the colonies and correſpondents of Thebes, though fallen. Ezekiel† celebrates Tyre as being, from her beginning, famous for the tabret and harp, and it is probably to Tyre the taſte for muſic fled from the contempt and perſecution of the barbarous Shepherds; who, though a numerous nation, to this day never have yet poſſeſſed any ſpecies of muſic, or any kind of muſical inſtruments capable of improvement.

Although it is a curious ſubject for reflection, it ſhould not ſurpriſe us to find here the harp, in ſuch variety of form. Old Thebes, as we preſently ſhall ſee, had been deſtroyed, and was ſoon after decorated and adorned, but not rebuilt by Seſoſtris. It was ſome time between the reign of Menes, the firſt king of the Thebaid, and the firſt general war of the

* Eccles. chap. i. ver. 10. † Ezek. chap. xxviii. ver. 13.

the Shepherds, that theſe decorations and paintings were made. This gives it a prodigious antiquity; but ſuppoſing it was a favourite inſtrument, conſequently well underſtood at the building of Tyre * in the year 1320 before Chriſt, and Seſoſtris had lived in the time of Solomon, as Sir Iſaac Newtoni magines; ſtill there were 320 years ſince that inſtrument had already attained to great perfection, a ſufficient time to have varied it into every form.

Upon ſeeing the preparations I was making to proceed farther in my reſearches, my conductors loſt all ſort of ſubordination. They were afraid my intention was to ſit in this cave all night, (as it really was,) and to viſit the others next morning. With great clamour and marks of diſcontent, they daſhed their torches againſt the largeſt harp, and made the beſt of their way out of the cave, leaving me and my people in the dark; and all the way as they went, they made dreadful denunciations of tragical events that were immediately to follow, upon their departure from the cave.

There was no poſſibility of doing more. I offered them money, much beyond the utmoſt of their expectations; but the fear of the Troglodytes, above Medinet Tabu, had fallen upon them; and ſeeing at laſt this was real, I was not myſelf without apprehenſions, for they were banditti, and outlaws, and no reparation was to be expected, whatever they ſhould do to hurt us.

Very

* Nay, prior to this, the harp is mentioned as a common inſtrument in Abraham's time 1370 years before Chriſt, Gen. chap. xxxii. ver. 27.

VERY much vexed, I mounted my horſe to return to the boat. The road lay through a very narrow valley, the ſides of which were covered with bare looſe ſtones. I had no ſooner got down to the bottom, than I heard a greal deal of loud ſpeaking on both ſides of the valley; and, in an inſtant, a number of large ſtones were rolled down upon me, which, though I heard in motion, I could not ſee, on account of the darkneſs; this increaſed my terror.

FINDING, by the impatience of the horſe, that ſeveral of theſe ſtones had come near him, and that it probably was the noiſe of his feet which guided thoſe that threw them, I diſmounted, and ordered the Moor to get on horſeback; which he did, and in a moment galloped out of danger. This, if I had been wiſe, I certainly might have done before him, but my mind was occupied by the paintings. Nevertheleſs, I was reſolved upon revenge before leaving theſe banditti, and liſtened till I heard voices, on the right ſide of the hill. I accordingly levelled my gun as near as poſſible, by the ear, and fired one barrel among them. A moment's ſilence enſued, and then a loud howl, which ſeemed to have come from thirty or forty perſons. I took my ſervant's blunderbuſs, and diſcharged it where I heard the howl, and a violent confuſion of tongues followed, but no more ſtones. As I found this was the time to eſcape, I kept along the dark ſide of the hill, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, till I came to the mouth of the plain, when we reloaded our firelocks, expecting ſome interruption before we reached the boat; and then we made the beſt of our way to the river.

We found our Rais full of fears for us. He had been told, that, as ſoon as day light ſhould appear, the whole Troglodytes were to come down to the river, in order to plunder and deſtroy our boat.

This night expedition at the mountains was but partial, the general attack was reſerved for next day. Upon holding council, we were unanimous in opinion, as indeed we had been during the whole courſe of this voyage. We thought, ſince our enemy had left us to-night, it would be our fault if they found us in the morning. Therefore, without noiſe, we caſt off our rope that faſtened us, and let ourſelves over to the other ſide. About twelve at night a gentle breeze began to blow, which wafted us up to Luxor, where there was a governor, for whom I had letters.

From being convinced by the ſight of Thebes, which had not the appearance of ever having had walls, that the fable of the hundred gates, mentioned by Homer, was mere invention, I was led to conjecture what could be the origin of that fable.

That the old inhabitants of Thebes lived in caves in the mountains, is, I think, without doubt, and that the hundred mountains I have ſpoken of, excavated, and adorned, were the greateſt wonders at that time, ſeems equally probable. Now, the name of theſe to this day is Beeban el Meluke, the ports or gates of the kings, and hence, perhaps, come the hundred gates of Thebes upon which the Greeks have dwelt ſo much. Homer never ſaw Thebes, it was demoliſhed before the days of any profane writer, either in proſe or verſe. What he added to its hiſtory muſt have been from imagination.

All that is ſaid of Thebes, by poets or hiſtorians, after the days of Homer, is meant of Dioſpolis; which was built by the Greeks long after Thebes was deſtroyed, as its name teſtifies; though Diodorus * ſays it was built by Buſiris. It was on the eaſt ſide of the Nile, whereas ancient Thebes was on the weſt, though both are conſidered as one city; and † Strabo ſays, that the river ‡ runs through the middle of Thebes, by which he means between old Thebes and Dioſpolis, or Luxor and Medinet Tabu.

While in the boat, I could not help regretting the time I had ſpent in the morning, in looking for the place in the narrow valley where the mark of the famous golden circle was viſible, which Norden ſays he ſaw, but I could diſcern no traces of it any where, and indeed it does not follow that the mark left was that of a circle. This magnificent inſtrument was probably fixed perpendicular to the horizon in the plane of the meridian; ſo that the appearance of the place where it ſtood, would very probably not partake of the circular form at all, or any preciſe ſhape whereby to know it. Beſides, as I have before ſaid, it was not among theſe tombs or excavated mountains, but ten ſtades from them, ſo the veſtiges of this famous inſtrument § could not be found here. Indeed, being omitted in the lateſt edition of Norden, it would ſeem that traveller himſelf was not perfectly well aſſured of its exiſtence.

* Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. i. p. 42. § d. † Strabo, lib. 17. p. 943. ‡ Nah. ch. 3. ver. 8, & 9.

§ A ſimilar inſtrument, erected by Eratoſthenes at Alexandria, cut of copper, was uſed by Hipparchus and Ptolemy.—Alm. lib. 1. cap. 11. 3. cap. 2. Vide his remarks on Mr Greave's Pyramidographia, p. 134.

We were well received by the governor of Luxor, who was alſo a believer in judicial aſtrology. Having made him a ſmall preſent, he furniſhed us with proviſions, and, among ſeveral other articles, ſome brown ſugar; and as we had ſeen limes and lemons in great perfection at Thebes, we were reſolved to refreſh ourſelves with ſome punch, in remembrance of Old England. But, after what had happened the night before, none of our people choſe to run the riſk of meeting the Troglodytes. We therefore procured a ſervant of the governor's of the town, to mount upon his goat-ſkin filled with wind, and float down the ſtream from Luxor to El Gournie, to bring us a ſupply of theſe, which he ſoon after did.

He informed us, that the people in the caves had, early in the morning, made a deſcent upon the townſmen, with a view to plunder our boat; that ſeveral of them had been wounded the night before, and they threatened to purſue us to Syene. The ſervant did all he could to frighten them, by ſaying that his maſter's intention was to paſs over with troops, and exterminate them, as Oſman Bey of Girgé had before done, and *we* were to aſſiſt him with our fire-arms.—After this we heard no more of them.

Luxor, and Carnac, which is a mile and a quarter below it, are by far the largeſt and moſt magnificent ſcenes of ruins in Egypt, much more extenſive and ſtupendous than thoſe of Thebes and Dendera put together.

There are two obeliſks here of great beauty, and in good preſervation, they are leſs than thoſe at Rome, but not at all mutilated. The pavement, which is made to receive the

the ſhadow, is to this day ſo horizontal, that it might ſtill be uſed in obſervation. The top of the obeliſk is ſemicircular, an experiment, I ſuppoſe, made at the inſtance of the obſerver, by varying the ſhape of the point of the obeliſk, to get rid of the penumbra.

At Carnac we ſaw the remains of two vaſt rows of ſphinxes, one on the right-hand, the other on the left, (their heads were moſtly broken) and, a little lower, a number of termini as it ſhould ſeem. They were compoſed of baſaltes, with a dog or lion's head, of Egyptian ſculpture. They ſtood in lines likewiſe, as if to conduct or ſerve as an avenue to ſome principal building.

They had been covered with earth, till very lately a *Venetian phyſician and antiquary bought one of them at a very conſiderable price, as he ſaid, for the king of Sardinia. This has cauſed ſeveral others to be uncovered, though no purchaſer hath yet offered.

Upon the outſide of the walls at Carnac and Luxor there ſeems to be an hiſtorical engraving inſtead of hieroglyphics; this we had not met with before. It is a repreſentation of men, horſes, chariots, and battles; ſome of the attitudes are freely and well drawn, they are rudely ſcratched upon the ſurface of the ſtone, as ſome of the hieroglyphics at Thebes are. The weapons the men make uſe of are ſhort javelins, ſuch as are common at this day among the inhabitants of

*Signior Donati.

Egypt, only they have feathered wings like arrows. There is alſo diſtinguiſhed among the reſt, the figure of a man on horſeback, with a lion fighting furiouſly by him, and Diodorus * ſays, Oſimandyas was ſo repreſented at Thebes. This whole compoſition merits great attention.

I HAVE ſaid, that Luxor is Dioſpolis, and ſhould think, that that place, and Carnac together, made the Jovis Civitas Magna of Ptolemy, though there is 9′ difference of the latitude by my obſervation compared with his. But as mine was made on the ſouth of Luxor, if his was made on the north of Carnac, the difference will be greatly diminiſhed.

THE 17th we took leave of our friendly Shekh of Luxor, and ſailed with a very fair wind, and in great ſpirits. The liberality of the Shekh of Luxor had extended as far as even to my Rais, whom he engaged to land me here upon my return.---I had procured him conſiderable eaſe in ſome complaints he had; and he ſaw our departure with as much regret as in other places they commonly did our arrival.

On the eaſtern ſhore are Hambdé, Maſchergarona, Tot, Senimi, and Gibeg. Mr Norden ſeems to have very much confuſed the places in this neighbourhood, as he puts Erment oppoſite to Carnac, and Thebes farther ſouth than Erment, and on the eaſt ſide of the Nile, whilſt he places Luxor farther ſouth than Erment. But Erment is fourteen miles farther ſouth than Thebes, and Luxor about a quarter

* Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. 1. p. 45. § c.

ter of a mile (as I have already ſaid) farther ſouth on the Eaſt ſide of the river, whereas Thebes is on the Weſt.

He has fixed a village (which he calls *Demegeit) in the ſituation where Thebes ſtands, and he calls it Crocodilopolis, from what authority I know not; but the whole geography is here exceedingly confuſed, and out of its proper poſition.

In the evening we came to an anchor on the eaſtern ſhore nearly oppoſite to Eſné. Some of our people had landed to ſhoot, truſting to a turn of the river that is here, which would enable them to keep up with us; but they did not arrive till the ſun was ſetting, loaded with hares, pigeons, gootos, all very bad game. I had, on my part, ſtaid on board, and had ſhot two geeſe, as bad eating as the others, but very beautiful in their plumage.

We paſſed over to Eſné next morning. It is the ancient Latopolis, and has very great remains, particularly a large temple, which, though the whole of it is of the remoteſt antiquity, ſeems to have been built at different times, or rather out of the ruins of different ancient buildings. The hieroglyphics upon this are very ill executed, and are not painted. The town is the reſidence of an Arab Shekh, and the inhabitants are a very greedy, bad ſort of people; but as I was dreſſed like an Arab, they did not moleſt, becauſe they did not know me.

The 18th, we left Eſné, and paſſed the town of Edfu, where there is likewiſe conſiderable remains of Egyptian architecture. It is the Appollinis Civitas Magna.

The

*Vide Norden's map of the Nile.

The wind failing, we were obliged to ſtop in a very poor, deſolate, and dangerous part of the Nile, called Jibbel el Silſelly, where a boom, or chain, was drawn acroſs the river, to hinder, as is ſuppoſed, the Nubian boats from committing piratical practices in Egypt lower down the ſtream. The ſtones on both ſides, to which the chain was fixed, are very viſible; but I imagine that it was for fiſcal rather than for warlike purpoſes, for Syene being garriſoned, there is no poſſibility of boats paſſing from Nubia by that city into Egypt. There is indeed another purpoſe to which it might be deſigned; to prevent war upon the Nile between any two ſtates.

We know from Juvenal*, who lived ſome time at Syene, that there was a tribe in that neighbourhood called Ombi, who had violent contentions with the people of Dendera about the crocodile; it is remarkable theſe two parties were Anthropophagi ſo late as Juvenal's time, yet no hiſtorian ſpeaks of this extraordinary fact, which cannot be called in queſtion, as he was an eye-witneſs and reſided at Syene.

Now theſe two nations who were at war had above a hundred miles of neutral territory between them, and therefore they could never meet except on the Nile. But either one or the other poſſeſſing this chain, could hinder his adverſary from coming nearer him. As the chain is in the hermonthic nome, as well as the capital of the Ombi, I ſuppoſe this chain to be the barrier of this laſt

* Juven. Sat. 15. ver. 76.

laſt ſtate, to hinder thoſe of Dendera from coming up the river *to eat* them.

About noon we paſſed Coom Ombo, a round building like a caſtle, where is ſuppoſed to have been the metropolis of Ombi, the people laſt ſpoken of. We then arrived at Daroo*, a miſerable manſion, unconſcious that, ſome years after, we were to be indebted to that paltry village for the man who was to guide us through the deſert, and reſtore us to our native country and our friends.

We next came to Shekh Ammer, the encampment of the Arabs † Ababdé, I ſuppoſe the ſame that Mr Norden calls Ababuda, who reach from near Coſſeir far into the deſert. As I had been acquainted with one of them at Badjoura, who deſired medicines for his father, I promiſed to call upon him, and ſee their effect, when I ſhould paſs Shekh Ammer, which I now accordingly did; and by the reception I met with, I found they did not expect I would ever have been as good as my word. Indeed they would probably have been in the right, but as I was about to engage myſelf in extenſive deſerts, and this was a very conſiderable nation in theſe tracts, I thought it was worth my while to put myſelf under their protection.

Shekh Ammer is not one, but a collection of villages, compoſed of miſerable huts, containing, at this time, about a thouſand effective men: they poſſeſs few horſe, and are moſtly

* Idris Welled Hamran, our guide through thegreat deſert, dwelt in this village.

† The ancient Adei.

moſtly mounted on camels. Theſe were friends to Shekh Hamam, governor of Upper Egypt for the time, and conſequently to the Turkiſh government at Syene, as alſo to the janiſſaries there at Deir and Ibrim. They were the barrier, or bulwark, againſt the prodigious number of Arabs, the Biſhareen, and others, depending upon the kingdom of Sennaar.

Ibrahim, the ſon, who had ſeen me at Furſhout and Badjoura, knew me as ſoon as I arrived, and, after acquainting his father, came with about a dozen of naked attendants, with lances in their hands to eſcort me. I was ſcarce got into the door of the tent, before a great dinner was brought after their cuſtom; and, that being diſpatched, it was a thouſand times repeated, how little they expected that I would have thought or inquired about them.

We were introduced to their Shekh, who was ſick, in a corner of a hut, where he lay upon a carpet, with a cuſhion under his head. This chief of the Ababdé, called Nimmer, *i. e. the Tiger* (though his furious qualities were at this time in great meaſure allayed by ſickneſs) aſked me much about the ſtate of Lower Egypt. I ſatisfied him as far as poſſible, but recommended to him to confine his thoughts nearer home, and not to be over anxious about theſe diſtant countries, as he himſelf ſeemed, at that time, to be in a declining ſtate of health.

Nimmer was a man about ſixty years of age, exceedingly tormented with the gravel, which was more extraordinary as he dwelt near the Nile; for it is, univerſally, the diſeaſe

* The Biſhareen are the Arabs who live in the frontier between the two nations. They are the nominal ſubjects of Sennaar, but, in fact, indiſcreet banditti, at leaſt as to ſtrangers.

with thoſe who uſe water from draw-wells, as in the deſert. But he told me, that, for the firſt twenty-ſeven years of his life, he never had ſeen the Nile, unleſs upon ſome plundering party; that he had been conſtantly at war with the people of the cultivated part of Egypt, and reduced them often to the ſtate of ſtarving; but now that he was old, a friend to Shekh Hamam, and was reſident near the Nile, he drank of its water, and was little better, for he was already a martyr to the diſeaſe. I had ſent him ſoap pills from Badjoura, which had done him a great deal of good, and now gave him lime-water, and promiſed him, on my return, to ſhew his people how to make it.

A VERY friendly converſation enſued, in which was repeated often, how little they expected I would have viſited them! As this implied two things; the firſt, that I paid no regard to my promiſe when given; the other, that I did not eſteem them of conſequence enough to give myſelf the trouble, I thought it right to clear myſelf from theſe ſuſpicions.

"SHEKH NIMMER, ſaid I, this frequent repetition that you "thought I would not keep my word is *grievous* to me. I am "a Chriſtian, and have lived now many years among you "Arabs. Why did you imagine that I would not keep my "word, ſince it is a principle among all the Arabs I have "lived with, inviolably to keep theirs? When your ſon Ibra- "him came to me at Badjoura, and told me the pain that "you was in, night and day, fear of God, and deſire to do "good, even to them I had never ſeen, made me give you "thoſe medicines that have eaſed you. After this proof of "my humanity, what was there extraordinary in my com- "ing to ſee you in the way? I knew you not before; but

" my religion teaches me to do good to all men, even to
" enemies, without reward, or without conſidering whether
" I ever ſhould ſee them again."

" Now, after the drugs I ſent you by Ibrahim, tell me,
" and tell me truly, upon the *faith* of an *Arab*, would your
" people, if they met me in the *deſert*, do me any wrong,
" more than *now*, as I have eat and drank with you to-day?"

THE old man Nimmer, on this roſe from his carpet, and ſat upright, a more ghaſtly and more horrid figure I never ſaw. " No, ſaid he, Shekh, curſed be thoſe men of *my people*, or *others*, that ever ſhall lift up their hand againſt you, either in the *Deſert* or the *Tell*, *i. e.* the part of Egypt which is cultivated. As long as you are in this country, or between this and Coſſeir, my ſon ſhall ſerve you with heart and hand; one night of pain that your medicines freed me from, would not be repaid, if I was to follow you on foot to Meſſir, that is Cairo."

I THEN thought it a proper time to enter into converſation about penetrating into Abyſſinia that way, and they diſcuſſed it among themſelves in a very friendly, and at the ſame time in a very ſagacious and ſenſible manner.

" WE could carry you to *El Haimer*, (which I underſtood to be a well in the deſert, and which I afterwards was much better acquainted with to my ſorrow.) We could conduct you ſo far, ſays old Nimmer, under God, without fear of harm, all that country was Chriſtian once, and *we* Chriſtians.

Chriſtians like yourſelf *. The *Saracens* having nothing in their power there, we could carry you ſafely to Suakem, but the Biſhary are men not to be truſted, and we could go no farther than to land you among them, and they would put you to death, and laugh at you all the time they were tormenting you †. Now, if you want to viſit Abyſſinia, go by Coſſeir and Jidda, there *you Chriſtians* command the country."

"I TOLD him, I apprehended, the *Kennouſs*, about the ſecond cataract, above Ibrim, were bad people. He ſaid the Kennouſs were, he believed, bad enough in their hearts, but they were wretched ſlaves, and ſervants, had no power in their hands, would not wrong any body that was with his people; if they did, he would extirpate them in a day."

"I TOLD him, I was ſatisfied of the truth of what was ſaid, and aſked him the beſt way to Coſſeir. He ſaid, the beſt way for me to go, was from Kenné, or Cuft, and that he was carrying a quantity of wheat from Upper Egypt, while Shekh Hamam was ſending another cargo from his country, both which would be delivered at Coſſeir, and loaded there for Jidda."

"ALL that is right, Shekh, ſaid I, but ſuppoſe your people meet us in the deſert, in going to Coſſeir, or otherwiſe, how ſhould we fare in that caſe? Should we fight?" "I have

 told

* They were *Shepherds* Indigenæ, not Arabs.

† *Qui Ludit in Heſpite fixo*—Was a character long ago given to the Moors.
HORACE ODE.

told you Shekh already, ſays he, Curſed be the man who lifts his hand againſt you, or even does not defend and befriend you, to his own loſs, were it Ibrahim my own ſon."

I THEN told him I was bound to Coſſeir, and that if I found myſelf in any difficulty, I hoped, upon applying to his people, they would protect me, and that he would give them the word, that I was *yagoube*, a phyſician, ſeeking no harm, but doing good; bound by a vow, for a certain time, to wander through deſerts, from fear of God, and that they ſhould not have it in their power to do me harm.

THE old man muttered ſomething to his ſons in a dialect I did not then underſtand; it was that of the *Shepherds* of Suakem. As that was the firſt word he ſpoke, which I did not comprehend, I took no notice, but mixed ſome lime-water in a large Venetian bottle that was given me when at Cairo full of *liqueur*, and which would hold about four quarts; and a little after I had done this the whole hut was filled with people.

THERE were *prieſts* and *monks* of their religion, and the heads of families, ſo that the houſe could not contain half of them. The great people among them came, and, after joining hands, repeated a kind of * prayer, of about two minutes long, by which they declared themſelves, and their children, accurſed, if ever they lifted their hands againſt me in the *Tell*, or Field in the *deſert*, or on the river; or, in caſe that I, or mine ſhould fly to

* This kind of oath was in uſe among the Arabs, or *Shepherds*, early as the time of Abraham, Gen. xxi. 22, 23. xxvi. 28.

to them for refuge, if they did not protect us at the risk of their lives, their families, and their fortunes, or, as they emphatically expressed it, to the death of the last male child among them.

MEDICINES and advice being given on my part, faith and protection pledged on theirs, two bushels of wheat and seven sheep were carried down to the boat, nor could we decline their kindness, as refusing a present in that country (however it is understood in ours,) is just as great an affront, as coming into the presence of a superior without a present at all.

I TOLD them, however, that I was going up among Turks who were *obliged* to maintain me, the consequence therefore will be, to save their own, that they will take your sheep, and make my dinner of them; you and I are *Arabs*, and know what *Turks* are. They all muttered curses between their teeth at the name of Turk, and we agreed they should keep the sheep till I came back, provided they should be then at liberty to add as many more.

THIS was all understood between us, and we parted perfectly content with one another. But our Rais was very far from being satisfied, having heard something of the seven sheep; and as we were to be next day at Syene, where he knew we were to get meat enough, he reckoned that they would have been his property. To stifle all cause of discontent, however, I told him he was to take no notice of my visit to Shekh Ammer, and that I would make him amends when I returned.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Arrives at Syene—Goes to ſee the Cataract—Remarkable Tombs—the ſituation of Syene—The Aga propoſes a Viſit to Deir and Ibrim—The Author returns to Kenné.

WE ſailed on the 20th, with the wind favouring us, till about an hour before ſun-riſe, and about nine o'clock came to an anchor on the ſouth end of the palm groves, and north end of the town of Syene, nearly oppoſite to an iſland in which there is a ſmall handſome Egyptian temple, pretty entire. It is the temple of * *Cnuphis*, where formerly was the Nilometer.

ADJOINING to the palm trees was a very good comfortable houſe, belonging to Huſſein Schourbatchie, the man that uſed to be ſent from that place to Cairo, to receive the pay of the janiſſaries in garriſon at Syene, upon whom too I had credit for a very ſmall ſum.

THE reaſons of a credit in ſuch a place are three: Firſt, in caſe of ſickneſs, or purchaſe of any antiquities: Secondly, that you give the people an idea (a very uſeful one) that you carry no money about with you: Thirdly, that your money

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 944.

money changes its value, and is not even current beyond Eſné.

HUSSEIN was not at home, but was gone ſomewhere upon buſineſs, but I had hopes to find him in the courſe of the day. Hoſpitality is never refuſed, in theſe countries, upon the ſlighteſt pretence. Having therefore letters to him, and hearing his houſe was empty, we ſent our people and baggage to it.

I WAS not well arrived before a janiſſary came, in long Turkiſh cloaths, without arms, and a white wand in his hand, to tell me that Syene was a garriſon town, and that the Aga was at the caſtle ready to give me audience.

I RETURNED him for anſwer, that I was very ſenſible it was my firſt duty, as a ſtranger, to wait upon the Aga in a *garriſoned* town of which he had the command, but, being bearer of the Grand Signior's Firman, having letters from the Bey of Cairo, and from the Port of Janiſſaries *to him in particular*, and, at preſent being indiſpoſed and fatigued, I hoped he would indulge me till the arrival of my landlord; in which interim I ſhould take a little reſt, change my cloaths, and be more in the ſituation in which I would wiſh to pay my reſpects to him.

I RECEIVED immediately an anſwer by two janiſſaries, who inſiſted to ſee me, and were accordingly introduced while I was lying down to reſt. They ſaid that Mahomet Aga had received my meſſage, that the reaſon of ſending to me was

not

not either to hurry or diſturb me; but the earlier to know in what he could be of ſervice to me; that he had *a particular letter* from the Bey of Cairo, in conſequence of which, he had diſpatched orders to receive me at Eſné, but as I had not waited on the Cacheff there, he had not been appriſed.

After giving coffee to theſe very civil meſſengers, and taking two hours reſt, our landlord the Schourbatchie arrived; and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, we went to the Aga.

The fort is built of clay, with ſome ſmall guns mounted on it; it is of ſtrength ſufficient to keep people of the country in awe.

I found the Aga ſitting in a ſmall kiooſk, or cloſet, upon a ſtone-bench covered with carpets. As I was in no fear of him, I was reſolved to walk according to my privileges; and, as the meaneſt Turk would do before the greateſt man in England, I ſat down upon a cuſhion below him, after laying my hand on my breaſt, and ſaying in an audible voice, with great marks of reſpect, however, *Salam alicum!* to which he anſwered, without any of the uſual difficulty, *Alicum ſalam! Peace be between us* is the ſalutation; *There is peace between us* is the return.

After ſitting down about two minutes, I again got up, and ſtood in the middle of the room before him, ſaying, I am bearer of a hatéſherriffe, or royal mandate, to you, Mahomet Aga! and took the firman out of my boſom, and preſented it to him. Upon this he ſtood upright, and all the reſt of the people, before ſitting with him likewiſe; he bowed his head

upon the carpet, then put the firman to his forehead, opened it, and pretended to read it; but he knew well the contents, and I believe, beſides, he could neither read nor write any language. I then gave him the other letters from Cairo, which he ordered his ſecretary to read in his ear.

All this ceremony being finiſhed, he called for a pipe, and coffee. I refuſed the firſt, as never uſing it; but I drank a diſh of coffee, and told him, that I was bearer of a *confidential meſſage* from Ali Bey of Cairo, and wiſhed to deliver it to him without witneſſes, whenever he pleaſed. The room was accordingly cleared without delay, excepting his ſecretary, who was alſo going away, when I pulled him back by the cloaths, ſaying, "Stay, if you pleaſe, we ſhall need you "to write the anſwer." We were no ſooner left alone, than I told the Aga, that, being a ſtranger, and not knowing the diſpoſition of his people, or what footing they were on together, and being deſired to addreſs myſelf only to him by the Bey, and our mutual friends at Cairo, I wiſhed to put it in his power (as he pleaſed or not) to have witneſſes of delivering the ſmall *preſent* I had brought him from Cairo. The Aga ſeemed very ſenſible of this delicacy; and particularly deſired me to take no notice to my landlord, the Schourbatchie, of any thing I had brought him.

All this being over, and a *confidence* eſtabliſhed with *government*, I ſent his preſent by his own ſervant that night, under pretence of deſiring horſes to go to the cataract next day. The meſſage was returned, that the horſes were to be ready by ſix o'clock next morning. On the 21ſt, the Aga ſent me his own horſe, with mules and aſſes for my ſervants, to go to the cataract.

We paſſed out at the ſouth gate of the town, into the firſt ſmall ſandy plain. A very little to our left, there are a number of tomb-ſtones with inſcriptions in the Cufic character, which travellers erroneouſly have called *unknown* language, and letters, although it was the only letter and language known to Mahomet, and the moſt learned of his ſect in the firſt ages.

The Cufic characters ſeem to be all written in capitals, which one might learn to read much more eaſily than the modern Arabic, and they more reſemble the Samaritan. We read there---Abdullah el Hejazi el Anſari---Mahomet Abdel Shems el Taiefy el Anſari. The firſt of theſe, Abdullah el Hejazi, is Abdullah born in Arabia Petrea. The other is, Mahomet the ſlave of the ſun, born in Taief. Now, both of theſe are called *Anſari*, which many writers, upon Arabian hiſtory, think, means, *born in Medina;* becauſe, when Mahomet fled from Mecca, the night of the hegira, the people of Medina received him willingly, and thenceforward got the name of *Anſari, or Helpers. But this honourable name was extended afterwards to all thoſe who fought under Mahomet in his wars, and after, even to thoſe who had been born in his lifetime.

These of whoſe tombs we are now ſpeaking, were of the army of Haled Ibn el Waalid, whom Mahomet named, Saif Ullah, the 'Sword of God,' and who, in the califat of Omar, took and deſtroyed Syene, after loſing great part of his army before

* This word, improperly uſed and ſpelled by M. de Volney, has nothing to do with theſe Anſaris.

before it. It was afterwards rebuilt by the *Shepherds* of Beja, then Chriſtians, and again taken in the time of Salidan, and, with the reſt of Egypt, *ever ſince* hath belonged to Cairo. It was conquered by, or rather ſurrendered to, Selim Emperor of the Turks, in 1516, who planted two advanced poſts (Deir and Ibrim) beyond the cataract in Nubia, with ſmall garriſons of janiſſaries likewiſe, where they continue to this day.

Their pay is iſſued from Cairo; ſometimes they marry each others daughters, rarely marry the women of the country, and the ſon, or nephew, or neareſt relation of each deceaſed, ſucceeds as janiſſary in room of his father. They have loſt their native language, and have indeed nothing of the Turk in them, but a propenſity to violence, rapine, and injuſtice; to which they have joined the perfidy of the Arab, which, as I have ſaid, they ſometimes inherit from their mother. An Aga commands theſe troops in the caſtle. They have about two hundred horſemen armed with firelocks; with which, by the help of the Ababdé, encamped at Shekh Ammer, they keep the Biſhareen, and all theſe numerous tribes of Arabs, that inhabit the Deſert of Sennaar, in tolerable order.

The inhabitants, merchants, and common people of the town, are commanded by a cacheff. There is neither butter nor milk at Syene (the latter comes from Lower Egypt) the ſame may be ſaid of fowls. Dates do not ripen at Syene, thoſe that are ſold at Cairo come from Ibrim and Dongola. There are good fiſh in the Nile, and they are eaſily caught, eſpecially at the cataract, or in broken water; there are only two kinds of large ones which I have happened to ſee, the

binny and the boulti. The binny I have deſcribed in its proper place.

After paſſing the tomb-ſtones without the gate, we come to a plain about five miles long, bordered on the left by a hill of no conſiderable height, and ſandy like the plain, upon which are ſeen ſome ruins, more modern than thoſe Egyptian buildings we have deſcribed. They ſeem indeed to be a mixture of all kinds and ages.

The diſtance from the gate of the town to Termiſſi, or Marada, the ſmall villages on the cataract, is exactly ſix Engliſh miles. After the deſcription already given of this cataract in ſome authors, a traveller has reaſon to be ſurpriſed, when arrived on its banks, to find that veſſels ſail up the cataract, and conſequently the fall cannot be ſo violent as to deprive people of their hearing*.

The bed of the river, occupied by the water, was not then half a mile broad. It is divided into a number of ſmall channels, by large blocks of granite, from thirty to forty feet high. The current, confined for a long courſe between the rocky mountains of Nubia, tries to expand itſelf with great violence. Finding, in every part before it, oppoſition from the rocks of granite, and forced back by theſe, it meets the oppoſite currents. The chafing of the water againſt theſe huge obſtacles, the meeting of the contrary currents one with another, creates ſuch a violent ebullition, and makes

* Cicero de Somnio Scipronis.

makes ſuch a noiſe and diſturbed appearance, that it fills the mind with confuſion rather than with terror.

We ſaw the miſerable Kennouſs (who inhabit the banks of the river up into Nubia, to above the ſecond cataract) to procure their daily food, lying behind rocks, with lines in their hands, and catching fiſh; they did not ſeem to be either dexterous or ſucceſsful in the ſport. They are not black, but of the darkeſt brown; are not woolly-headed, but have hair. They are ſmall, light, agile people, and ſeem to be more than half-ſtarved. I made a ſign that I wanted to ſpeak with one of them; but ſeeing me ſurrounded with a number of horſe and fire-arms, they did not chooſe to truſt themſelves. I left my people behind with my firelock, and went alone to ſee if I could engage them in a converſation. At firſt they walked off; finding I perſiſted in following them, they ran at full ſpeed, and hid themſelves among the rocks.

Pliny* ſays, that, in his time, the city of Syene was ſituated ſo directly under the tropic of Cancer, that there was a well, into which the ſun ſhone ſo perpendicular, that it was enlightened by its rays down to the bottom. Strabo † had ſaid the ſame. The ignorance, or negligence, in the Geodeſique meaſure in this obſervation, is extraordinary; Egypt had been meaſured yearly, from early ages, and the diſtance between Syene and Alexandria ſhould have been known to an ell. From this inaccuracy, I do very much ſuſpect the other meaſure Eratoſthenes is ſaid to have made, by which he fixed the ſun's parallax at 10 ſeconds and a

 half,

* Pliny, lib. ii. cap. 73. † Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 944.

half, was not really made by him, but was ſome old Chaldaic, or Egyptian obſervation, made by more inſtructed aſtronomers which he had fallen upon.

THE Arabs call it Aſſouan, which they ſay ſignifies *enlightened;* in alluſion, I ſuppoſe, to the circumſtance of the well, enlightened within by the ſun's being ſtationary over it in June; in the language of Beja its name ſignifies a circle, or portion of a circle.

SYENE, among other things, is famous for the firſt attempt made by Greek aſtronomers to aſcertain the meaſure of the circumference of the earth. Eratoſthenes, born at Cyrene about 276 years before Chriſt, was invited from Athens to Alexandria by Ptolemy Evergetes, who made him keeper of the Royal Library in that city. In this experiment two poſitions were aſſumed, that Alexandria and Syene were exactly 5000 ſtades diſtant from each other, and that they were preciſely under the ſame meridian. Again, it was verified by the experiment of the well, that, in the ſummer ſolſtice at mid-day, when the ſun was in the tropic of Cancer, in its greateſt northern declination, the well* at that inſtant was totally and equally illuminated; and that no ſtyle, or gnomon, erected on a perfect plane, did caſt, or project, any manner of ſhadow for 150 ſtades round, from which it was juſtly concluded, that the ſun, on that day, was ſo exactly vertical to Syene, that the center of its diſk immediately correſponded to the center of the bottom of the well. Theſe preliminaries being fixed, Eratoſthenes ſet about his obſervation thus:—

ON

* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 133.

On the day of the ſummer ſolſtice, at the moment the ſun was ſtationary in the meridian of Syene, he placed a ſtyle perpendicularly in the bottom of a half-concave ſphere, which he expoſed in open air to the ſun at Alexandria. Now, if that ſtyle had caſt no ſhade at Alexandria, it would have been preciſely in the ſame circumſtance with a ſtyle in the well in Syene; and the reaſon of its not caſting the ſhade would have been, that the ſun was directly vertical to it. But he found, on the contrary, this ſtyle at Alexandria did caſt a ſhadow; and by meaſuring the diſtance of the top of this ſhadow from the foot of the ſtyle, he found, that, when the ſun caſt no ſhadow at Syene, by being in the zenith, at Alexandria he projected a ſhadow; which ſhewed he was diſtant from the vertical point, or zenith, $7\frac{1}{2}° = 7° 12'$, which was $\frac{1}{50}$th of the circumference of the whole heavens, or of a great circle.

This being ſettled, the concluſion was, that Alexandria and Syene muſt be diſtant from each other by the 50th part of the circumference of the whole earth.

Now 5000 ſtades was the diſtance already aſſumed between Alexandria and the well of Syene; and all that was to be done was to repeat 5000 ſtades fifty times, or multiply 5000 ſtades by 50, and the anſwer was 250,000 ſtades, which was the total of the earth's circumference. This, admitting the French contents of the Egyptian ſtadium to be juſt, will amount to 11,403 leagues for the circumference of the earth ſought; and as our preſent account fixes it to be 9000, the error will be 2403 leagues in exceſs, or more than one-fourth of the whole ſum required.

This

This obſervation ſurely therefore is not worth recording, unleſs to ſhew the inſufficiency or imperfection of the method; it cannot deſerve the encomiums * that have been beſtowed upon it, if juſtice has been done to Eratoſthenes' geodeſique meaſures, which I do not, by any manner of means, warrant to be the caſe, becauſe the meaſure of his arch of the meridian ſeems to have been conducted with a much greater degree of ſucceſs and preciſion than that of his baſe.

On the 22d, 23d, and 24th of January, being at Syene, in a houſe immediately eaſt of the ſmall iſland in the Nile (where the temple of Cnuphis is ſtill ſtanding, very little injured, and which †Strabo, who was himſelf there, ſays was in the ancient town, and near the well built for the obſervation of the ſolſtice) with a three-foot braſs quadrant, made by Langlois, and deſcribed by ‡Monſieur de la Lande, by a mean of three obſervations of the ſun in the meridian, I concluded the latitude of Syene to be 24° 0′ 45″ north.

And, as the latitude of Alexandria, by a medium of many obſervations made by the French academicians, and more recently by Mr Niebuhr and myſelf, is beyond poſſibility of contradiction 31° 11′ 33″, the arch of the meridian contained between Syene and Alexandria, muſt be 7° 10′ 48″, or 1′ 12″ leſs than Eratoſthenes made it. And this is a wonderful preciſion, if we conſider the imperfection of his inſtrument, in the probable ſhortneſs of his radius, and difficulty (almoſt

* Spectacle de la Nature.

† Strabo, lib. 17. p. 944. ‡ L'hiſtoire d'aſtronomie, de M. de la Lande, vol. i. lib. 2.

(almoſt inſurmountable) in diſtinguiſhing the diviſion of the penumbra.

There certainly is one error very apparent, in meaſuring the baſe betwixt Syene and Alexandria; that is, they were not (as ſuppoſed) under the ſame meridian; for though, to my very great concern afterwards, I had no opportunity of fixing the longitude at this firſt viſit to Syene, as I had done the latitude, yet on my return, in the year 1772, from an eclipſe of the firſt ſatellite of Jupiter, I found its longitude to be 33° 30′; and the longitude of Alexandria, being 30° 16′ 7″, there is 3° 14′ that Syene is to the eaſtward of the meridian of Alexandria, or ſo far from their being under the ſame meridian as ſuppoſed.

It is impoſſible to fix the time of the building of Syene; upon the moſt critical examination of its hieroglyphics and proportions, I ſhould imagine it to have been founded ſome time after Thebes, but before Dendera, Luxor, or Carnac.

It would be no leſs curious to know, whether the well, which Eratoſthenes made uſe of for one of the terms of the geodeſique baſe, and his arch of the meridian, between Alexandria and Syene, was coeval with the building of that city, or whether it was made for the experiment. I ſhould be inclined to think the former was the caſe; and the placing this city firſt, then the well under the tropic, were with a view of aſcertaining the length of the ſolar year. In ſhort, this point, ſo material to be ſettled, was the conſtant object of attention of the firſt aſtronomers, and this was the uſe of the dial of Oſimandyas; this inquiry was the occaſion of the number of obeliſks raiſed in every ancient city in Egypt.

We cannot miſtake this, if we obſerve how anxiouſly they have varied the figure of the top, or point of each obeliſk; ſometimes it is a very ſharp one; ſometimes a portion of a circle, to try to get rid of the great impediment that perplexed them, the penumbra.

The projection of the pavements, conſtantly to the northward, ſo diligently levelled, and made into exact planes by large ſlabs of granite, moſt artificially joined, have been ſo ſubſtantially ſecured, that they might ſerve for the obſervation to this day; and it is probable, the poſition of this city and the well were coeval, the reſult of intention, and both the works of theſe firſt aſtronomers, immediately after the building of Thebes. If this was the caſe, we may conclude, that the fact of the ſun illuminating the bottom of the well in Eratoſthenes's time was a ſuppoſed one, from the uniform tradition, that once it had been ſo, the periodical change of the quantity of the angle, made by the equator and ecliptic, not being then known, and therefore that the quantity of the celeſtial arch, comprehended between Alexandria and Syene, might be as erroneous from another cauſe, as the baſe had been by aſſuming a wrong diſtance on the earth, in place of one exactly meaſured.

There is at Axum an obeliſk erected by Ptolemy Evergetes, the very prince who was patron to Eratoſthenes, without hieroglyphics, directly facing the ſouth, with its top firſt cut into a narrow neck, then ſpread out like a fan in a ſemicircular form, with a pavement curiouſly levelled to receive the ſhade, and make the ſeparation of the true ſhadow from the penumbra as diſtinct as poſſible.

This

This was probably intended for verifying the experiment of Eratoſthenes with a larger radius, for, by this obeliſk, we muſt not imagine Ptolemy intended to obſerve the obliquity of the ecliptic at Axum. Though it was true, that Axum, by its ſituation, was a very proper place, the ſun paſſing over that city and obeliſk twice a-year, yet it was equally true, that, from another circumſtance, which he might have been acquainted with, at leſs expence of time than building the obeliſk would have coſt him, that he himſelf could not make any uſe of the ſun's being twice vertical to Axum; for the ſun is vertical at Axum about the 25th of April, and again about the 20th of Auguſt; and, at both theſe ſeaſons, the heaven is ſo overcaſt with clouds, and the rain ſo continual, eſpecially at mid-day, that it would be a wonder indeed, if Ptolemy had once ſeen the ſun during the months he ſtaid there.

Though Syene, by its ſituation ſhould be healthy, the general complaint is a weakneſs and ſoreneſs in the eyes; and this not a temporary one only, but generally ending in blindneſs of one, or both eyes; you ſcarce ever ſee a perſon in the ſtreet that ſees with both eyes. They ſay it is owing to the hot wind from the deſert; and this I apprehend to be true, by the violent ſoreneſs and inflammation we were troubled with in our return home, through the great Deſert, to Syene.

We had now finiſhed every thing we had to do at Syene, and prepared to deſcend the Nile. After having been quiet, and well uſed ſo long, we did not expect any altercation at parting; we thought we had contented every body, and we were perfectly content with them. But, unluckily for us,

our landlord, the Schourbatchie, upon whom I had my credit, and who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by being very ſerviceable and obliging to us, happened to be the *proprietor* of a boat, for which, at that time, he had *little* employment; nothing would ſatisfy him but my hiring that boat, inſtead of returning in that which brought us up.

This could by no means be done, without breaking faith with our Rais, Abou Cuffi, which I was reſolved not to do on any account whatever, as the man had behaved honeſtly and well in every reſpect. The janiſſaries took the part of their brother againſt the ſtranger, and threatened to cut Abou Cuffi to pieces, and throw him to the crocodiles.

On the other part, he was very far from being terrified. He told them roundly, that he was a ſervant of Ali Bey, that, if they attempted to take his fare from him, their pay ſhould be ſtopped at Cairo, till they ſurrendered the guilty perſon to do him juſtice. He laughed moſt unaffectedly at the notion of cutting him to pieces; and declared, that, if he was to complain of the uſage he met when he went down to Lower Egypt, there would not be a janiſſary from Syene who would not be in much greater danger of crocodiles than he.

I went in the evening to the Aga, and complained of my landlord's behaviour. I told him poſitively, but with great ſhew of reſpect, I would rather go down the Nile upon a *raft*, than ſet my foot in any other boat but the one that brought me up. I begged him to be cautious how he proceeded, as it would be *my ſtory*, and not *his*, that would go to

to the Bey. This grave and reſolute appearance had the effect. The Schourbatchie was ſent for, and reprimanded, as were all thoſe that ſided with him; while privately, to calm all animoſities againſt my Rais, I promiſed him a piece of green cloth, which was his wiſh; and ſo heartily were we reconciled, that, the next day, he made his ſervants help Abou Cuffi to put our baggage on board the boat.

The Aga hinted to me, in converſation, that he wondered at my departure, as he heard my intention was to go to Ibrim and Deir. I told him, thoſe garriſons had a bad name; that a Daniſh gentleman, ſome years ago, going up thither, with orders from the government of Cairo, was plundered, and very nearly aſſaſſinated, by Ibrahim, Cacheff of Deir. He looked ſurpriſed, ſhook his head, and ſeemed not to give me credit; but I perſiſted, in the terms of Mr Norden's *Narrative; and told him, the brother of the Aga of Syene was along with him at the time. "Will any perſon, ſaid he, tell me, that a man who is in my hands once a month, who has not an ounce of bread but what I furniſh him from this garriſon, and whoſe pay would be ſtopt (as your Rais truly ſaid) on the firſt complaint tranſmitted to Cairo, could aſſaſſinate a man with Ali Bey's orders, and my brother along with him? Why, what do you think he is? I ſhall ſend a ſervant to the Cacheff of Deir to-morrow, who ſhall bring him down by the beard, if he refuſes to come willingly." I ſaid, "Then times were very much changed for the better; it was not always ſo, there was not always at Cairo a ſovereign like

* Vide Mr Norden's Voyage up the Nile.

like Ali Bey, nor at Syene a man of his prudence, and capacity in commanding; but having no buſineſs at Deir and Ibrim, I ſhould not riſk finding them in another humour, exerciſing other powers than thoſe he allowed them to have."

The 26th we embarked at the north end of the town, in the very ſpot where I again took boat above three years afterwards. We now no longer enjoyed the advantage of our prodigious main-ſail; not only our yards were lowered, but our maſts were taken out; and we floated down the current, making the figure of a wreck. The current, puſhing againſt one of our ſides, the wind directly contrary, preſſing us on the other, we went down *broad ſide foremoſt*; but ſo ſteadily, as ſcarce to be ſenſible the veſſel was in motion.

In the evening I ſtopt at Shekh Ammer, and ſaw my patient Nimmer, Shekh of the Ababdé. I found him greatly better, and as thankful as ever; I renewed my preſcriptions, and he his offers of ſervice.

I was viſited, however, with a pretty ſmart degree of fever by hunting crocodiles on the Nile as I went down, without any poſſibility of getting near them.

On the 31ſt of January we arrived at Negadé, the fourth ſettlement of the Franciſcan friars in Upper Egypt, for the pretended miſſion of Ethiopia. I found it to be in lat. 25° 53′ 30″. It is a ſmall neat village, covered with palm-trees, and moſtly inhabited by Cophts, none of whom the friars have yet converted, nor ever will, unleſs by ſmall penſions.

penſions, which they give to the pooreſt of them, to be decoy-ducks to the reſt.

Opposite to Negadé, on the other ſide of the river about three miles, is Cus, a large town, the Appollonis Civitas Parva of the ancients. There are no antiquities at this place; but the caravan, which was to carry the corn for Mecca, acroſs the deſert to Coſſeir, was to aſſemble there. I found they were not near ready; and that the Arabs Atouni had threatened they would be in their way, and would not ſuffer them to paſs, at any rate, and that the guard commanded to eſcort them acroſs the deſert, would come from Furſhout, and therefore I ſhould have early warning,

It was the 2d of February I returned to Badjoura, and took up my quarters in the houſe formerly aſſigned me, greatly to the joy of Shekh Iſmael, who, though he was in the main reconciled to his friend, friar Chriſtopher, had not yet forgot the wounding of the five men by his miſcalculating ramadan; and was not without fears that the ſame inadvertence might, ſome day or other, be fatal to him, in his pleuriſy and aſthma, or, what is ſtill more likely, by the operation of the tabange.

As I was now about to launch into that part of my expedition, in which I was to have no further intercouſe with Europe I ſet myſelf to work to examine all my obſervations, and put my journal in ſuch forwardneſs by explanations, where needful, that the labours and pains I had hitherto been at, might not be totally loſt to the public, if I ſhould periſh in the journey I had undertaken, which, every day,

from all information I could procure, appeared to be more and more deſperate.

HAVING finiſhed theſe, at leaſt ſo far as to make them intelligible to others, I conveyed them to my friends Meſſrs Julian and Roſa at Cairo, to remain in their cuſtody till I ſhould return, or news come that I was otherwiſe diſpoſed of.

CHAP. VIII.

The Author ſets out from Kenné—Croſſes the Deſert of the Thebaid—Viſits the Marble Mountains—Arrives at Coſſeir, on the Red Sea—Tranſactions there.

IT was Thurſday, the 16th of February 1769, we heard the caravan was ready to ſet out from Kenné, the Cæne Emporium of antiquity. From Kenné our road was firſt Eaſt, for half an hour, to the foot of the hills, which here bound the cultivated land; then S. E. when, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, we paſſed a very dirty ſmall village called Sheraffa. All the way from Kenné, cloſe on our left, were deſert hills, on which not the leaſt verdure grew, but a few plants of a large ſpecies of Solanum, called Burrumbuc.

AT half paſt two we came to a well, called Bir Ambar, the well of ſpices, and a dirty village of the ſame name, belonging to the Azaizy, a poor inconſiderable tribe of Arabs. They live by letting out their cattle for hire to the caravans that go to Coſſeir, and attending themſelves, when neceſſary. It got its name, I ſuppoſe, from its having formerly been a ſtation of the caravans from the Red Sea, loaded with this kind of merchandiſe from India. The houſes of the Azaizy are of a very particular conſtruction, if they can be called

houſes. They are all made of potter-clay, in one piece, in ſhape of a bee-hive; the largeſt is not above ten feet high, and the greateſt diameter ſix.

THERE are no veſtiges here of any canal, mentioned to have been cut between the Nile and the Red Sea. The cultivated land here is not above half a mile in extent from the river, but the inundation of the Nile reaches much higher, nor has it left behind it any appearance of ſoil. After paſſing Bir Ambar, we pitched our tent about four o'clock at Gabba*, a ſhort mile from Cuft, on the borders of the deſert—here we paſſed the night.

ON the 17th, at eight o'clock in the morning, having mounted my ſervants all on horſeback, and taken the charge of our own camels, (for there was a confuſion in our caravan not to be deſcribed, and our guards we knew were but a ſet of thieves) we advanced ſlowly into the deſert. There were about two hundred men on horſeback, armed with firelocks; all of them lions, if you believed their word or appearance; but we were credibly informed, that fifty of the Arabs, at firſt ſight, would have made theſe heroes fly without any bloodſhed.

I HAD not gone two miles before I was joined by the Howadat Arab, whom I had brought with me in the boat from Cairo. He offered me his ſervice with great profeſſions of gratitude, and told me, that he hoped I would again take charge of his money, as I had before done from Cairo.

It

* It is no town, but ſome ſand and a few buſhes, ſo called.

It was now for the firſt time he told me his name, which was Mahomet Abdel Gin, "the Slave of the Devil, or the "Spirit." There is a large tribe of that name, many of which come to Cairo from the kingdom of Sennaar; but he had been born among the Howadat, oppoſite to Metrahenny, where I found him.

Our road was all the way in an open plain, bounded by hillocks of ſand, and fine gravel, perfectly hard, and not perceptibly above the level of the plain country of Egypt. About twelve miles diſtant there is a ridge of mountains of no conſiderable height, perhaps the moſt barren in the world. Between theſe our road lay through plains, never three miles broad, but without trees, ſhrubs, or herbs. There are not even the traces of any living creature, neither ſerpent nor lizard, antelope nor oſtrich, the uſual inhabitants of the moſt dreary deſerts. There is no ſort of water on the ſurface, brackiſh or ſweet. Even the birds ſeem to avoid the place as peſtilential, not having ſeen one of any kind ſo much as flying over. The ſun was burning hot, and, upon rubbing two ſticks together, in half a minute they both took fire, and flamed; a mark how near the country was reduced to a general conflagration!

At half paſt three, we pitched our tent near ſome draw-wells, which, upon taſting, we found bitterer than ſoot. We had, indeed, other water carried by the camels in ſkins. This well-water had only one needful quality, it was cold, and therefore very comfortable for refreſhing us outwardly. This unpleaſant ſtation is called Legeta; here we were obliged to paſs the night, and all next day, to wait the arrival

of the caravans of Cus, Eſné, and part of thoſe of Kenné, and Ebanout.

While at the wells of Legeta, my Arab, Abdel Gin, came to me with his money, which had increaſed now to nineteen ſequins and a half. "What! ſaid I, Mahomet, are you never ſafe among your countrymen, neither by ſea nor land?" "Oh, no, replied Mahomet; the difference, when we were on board the boat, was, we had three thieves only; but, when *aſſembled here*, we ſhall have above three thouſand.---But I have an advice to give you."---"And my ears," ſaid I, "Mahomet, are always open to advice, eſpecially in ſtrange countries."---"Theſe people," continued Mahomet, "are all afraid of the Atouni Arabs; and, when attacked, they will run away, and leave you in the hands of theſe Atouni, who will carry off your baggage. Therefore, as you have nothing to do with their corn, do not kill any of the Atouni if they come, for that will be a bad affair, but go aſide, and let me manage. I will anſwer with my life, though all the caravan ſhould be ſtripped ſtark-naked, and you loaded with gold, not one article belonging to you ſhall be touched." I queſtioned him very particularly about this intimation, as it was an affair of much conſequence, and I was ſo well ſatisfied, that I reſolved to conform ſtrictly to it.

In the evening came twenty Turks from Caramania, which is that part of Aſia Minor immediately on the ſide of the Mediterranean oppoſite to the coaſt of Egypt; all of them neatly and cleanly dreſſed like Turks, all on camels, armed with ſwords, a pair of piſtols at their girdle, and a ſhort neat gun; their arms were in very good order, with their flints and

and ammunition ſtowed in cartridge-boxes, in a very ſoldier-like manner. A few of theſe ſpoke Arabic, and my Greek ſervant, Michael, interpreted for the reſt. Having been informed, that the large tent belonged to an Engliſhman, they came into it without ceremony. They told me, that they were a number of neighbours and companions, who had ſet out together to go to Mecca, to the Hadje; and not knowing the language, or cuſtoms of the people, they had been but indifferently uſed ſince they landed at Alexandria, particularly ſomewhere (as I gueſſed) about Achmim; that one of the Owam, or ſwimming thieves, had been on board of them in the night, and had carried off a ſmall portmanteau with about 200 ſequins in gold; that, though a complaint had been made to the Bey of Girgé, yet no ſatisfaction had been obtained; and that now they had heard an Engliſhman was here, whom they reckoned their *countryman*, they had come to propoſe, that we ſhould make a common cauſe to defend each other againſt all enemies.—What they meaned by *countryman* was this:—

THERE is in Aſia Minor, ſomewhere between Anatolia and Caramania, a diſtrict which they call Caz Dagli, corruptly Caz Dangli, and this the Turks believe was the country from which the Engliſh firſt drew their origin; and on this account they never fail to claim kindred with the Engliſh wherever they meet, eſpecially if they ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance.

I TOLD them the arrangement I had taken with the Arab. At firſt, they thought it was too much confidence to place in him, but I convinced them, that it was greatly diminiſhing our riſk, and, let the worſt come to the worſt,

I was well ſatisfied that, armed as we were, on foot, we were more than ſufficient to beat the Atouni, after they had defeated the clowniſh caravan of Egypt, from whoſe courage we certainly had nothing to expect.

I CANNOT conceal the ſecret pleaſure I had in finding the character of my country ſo firmly eſtabliſhed among nations ſo diſtant, enemies to our religion, and ſtrangers to our government. Turks from Mount Taurus, and Arabs from the deſert of Libya, thought themſelves unſafe among their own countrymen, but truſted their lives and their little fortunes implicitly to the direction and word of an Engliſhman whom they had never before ſeen.

THESE Turks ſeemed to be above the middling rank of people; each of them had his little cloak-bag very neatly packed up; and they gave me to underſtand that there was money in it. Theſe they placed in my ſervants tent, and chained them all together, round the middle pillar of it; for it was eaſy to ſee the Arabs of the caravan had thoſe packages in view, from the firſt moment of the Turk's arrival.

WE ſtaid all the 18th at Legeta, waiting for the junction of the caravans, and departed the 19th at ſix o'clock in the morning. Our journey, all that day, was through a plain, never leſs than a mile broad, and never broader than three; the hills, on our right and left, were higher than the former, and of a browniſh calcined colour, like the ſtones on the ſides of Mount Veſuvius, but without any herb or tree upon them.

At half paſt ten, we paſſed a mountain of green and red marble, and at twelve we entered a plain called Hamra, where we firſt obſerved the ſand red, with a purple caſt, of the colour of porphyry, and this is the ſignification of Hamra, the name of the valley. I diſmounted here, to examine of what the rocks were compoſed; and found, with the greateſt pleaſure, that here began the quarries of porphyry, without the mixture of any other ſtone; but it was imperfect, brittle, and ſoft. I had not been engaged in this purſuit an hour, before we were alarmed with a report that the Atouni had attacked the rear of the caravan; we were at the head of it. The Turks and my ſervants were all drawn together, at the foot of the mountain, and poſted as advantageouſly as poſſible. But it ſoon appeared that they were ſome thieves only, who had attempted to ſteal ſome loads of corn from camels that were weak, or fallen lame, perhaps in intelligence with thoſe of our own caravans.

All the reſt of the afternoon, we ſaw mountains of a perfectly purple colour, all of them porphyry; nor has Ptolemy † much erred in the poſition of them. About four o'clock, we pitched our tent at a place called Main el Mafarek. The colour of the valley El Hamra continued to this ſtation; and it was very ſingular to obſerve, that the ants, or piſmires, the only living creatures I had yet obſerved, were all of a beautiful red colour like the ſand.

The 20th, at ſix oclock in the morning, we left Main el Mafarek,

† Ptol. Almag. lib. 4. Geograph. pag. 104.

Mafarek, and, at ten, came to the mouth of the defiles. At eleven we began to defcend, having had a very imperceptible afcent from Kenné all the way.

We were now indemnified for the famenefs of our natural productions yefterday; for, on each fide of the plain, we found different forts of marble, twelve kinds of which I felected, and took with me.

At noon, we came to a plain planted with acacia-trees, at equal diftances; fingle trees, fpreading broader than ufual, as if on purpofe to proportion the refreſhment they gave to the number of travellers who ftood in need of it. This is a ſtation of the Atouni Arabs after rain. From our leaving Legeta, we had no water that, nor the following day.

On the right-hand fide of this plain we found porphyry and granite, of very beautiful kinds. All the way, on both fides of the valley, this day, the mountains were of porphyry, and a very few of ſtone.

At a quarter paſt four, we encamped at Koraim, a ſmall plain, perfectly barren, conſiſting of fine gravel, ſand, and ſtones, with a few acacia-trees, interſperſed throughout.

The 21ſt, we departed early in the morning from Koraim, and, at ten o'clock, we paſſed ſeveral defiles, perpetually alarmed by a report, that the Arabs were approaching; none of whom we ever ſaw. We then proceeded through ſeveral defiles, into a long plain that turns to the eaſt, then north-eaſt, and north, ſo as to make a portion of a circle. At the end of this plain we came to a mountain, the great-

eſt part of which was of the marble, *verde antico*, as it is called in Rome, but by far the moſt beautiful of the kind I had ever ſeen.

Having paſſed this, we had mountains on both ſides of us, but particularly on our right. The only ones that I myſelf examined were of a kind of granite, with reddiſh veins throughout, with triangular and ſquare black ſpots. Theſe mountains continued to Meſag el Terfowey, where we encamped at twelve o'clock; we were obliged to bring our water from about five miles to the ſouth-eaſt. This water does not appear to be from ſprings, it lies in cavities and grottos in the rock, of which there are twelve in number, whether hollowed by nature or art, or partly by both, is more than I can ſolve. Great and abundant rains fall here in February. The clouds, breaking on the tops of theſe mountains, in their way to Abyſſinia, fill theſe ciſterns with large ſupplies, which the impending rocks ſecure from evaporation.

It was the firſt freſh water we taſted ſince we left the Nile; and the only water of any kind ſince we left Legeta. But ſuch had been the foreſight of our caravan, that very few reſorted thither, having all laid in abundant ſtore from the Nile; and ſome of them a quantity ſufficient to ſerve them till their return. This was not our caſe. We had water, it is true, from the Nile; but we never thought we could have too much, as long as there was room in our water-ſkins to hold more; I therefore went early with my camel-drivers, expecting to have ſeen ſome antelopes, which every night come to drink from the well, having no opportunity to do it throughout the day.

I HAD not concealed myſelf half an hour, above a narrow path leading to the principal cave, before I ſaw, firſt one antelope walking very ſtately alone; then four others, cloſely following him. Although I was wholly hid as long as I lay ſtill, he ſeemed to have diſcerned me from the inſtant that I ſaw him. I ſhould have thought it had been the ſmell that had diſcovered me, had not I uſed the precaution of carrying a piece of burnt turf along with me, and left one with my horſe likewiſe; perhaps it was this unuſual ſmell that terrified him. Whatever was the cauſe, he advanced apparently in fear, and ſeemed to be truſted with the care of the flock, as the others teſtified no apprehenſion, but were rather ſporting or fighting with each other. Still he advanced ſlower, and with greater caution; but, being perfectly within reach, I did not think proper any longer to riſk the whole from a deſire to acquire a greater number. I ſhot him ſo juſtly, that, giving one leap five or ſix feet high, he fell dead upon his head. I fired at the others, retiring all in a croud; killed one likewiſe, and lamed another, who fled among the mountains, where darkneſs protected him. We were perfectly content with our acquiſition, and the nature of the place did not prompt us to look after the wounded. We continued at the well to aſſiſt our companions who came in want of water, a duty with which neceſſity binds us all to comply.

WE returned near midnight with our game and our water. We found our tents all lighted, which, at that time of night, was unuſual. I thought, however, it was on account of my abſence, and to guide me the ſurer home. We were however ſurpriſed, when, coming within a moderate diſtance of our tent, we heard *the word* called for; I anſwered immediately,

diately, *Charlotte;* and, upon our arrival, we perceived the Turks were parading round the tents in arms, and ſoon after our Howadat Arab came to us, and with him a meſſenger from Sidi Haſſan, deſiring me to come inſtantly to his tent, while my ſervants adviſed me firſt to hear what they had to ſay to me in mine.

I SOON, therefore, perceived that all was not well, and I returned my compliments to Haſſan, adding, that, if he had any thing to ſay to me ſo late, he would do well to come, or ſend, as it was paſt my hour of viſiting in the deſert, eſpecially as I had not eat, and was tired with having the charge of the water. I gave orders to my ſervants to put out all the extraordinary lights, as that ſeemed to be a mark of fear; but forbade any one to ſleep, excepting thoſe who had the charge of our beaſts, and had been fetching the water.

I FOUND that, while our people had been aſleep, two perſons had got into the tent and attempted to ſteal one of the portmanteaus; but, as they were chained together, and the tent-pole in the middle, the noiſe had awakened my ſervants, who had ſeized one of the men; and that the Turks had intended inſtantly to have diſpatched him with their knives, and with great difficulty had been prevented by my ſervants, according to my conſtant orders, for I wiſhed to avoid all extremities, upon ſuch occaſions, when poſſible. They had indeed leave to deal with their ſticks as freely as their prudence ſuggeſted to them; and they had gone, in this caſe, fully beyond the ordinary limits of *diſcretion*, eſpecially Abdel Gin, who was the firſt to ſeize the robber. In ſhort, they had dealt ſo liberally with their ſticks, that

the thief was only known to be living by his groans, and they had thrown him at a ſmall diſtance, for any perſon to own him that pleaſed. It appeared, that he was a ſervant of Sidi Haſſan, an Egyptian ſlave, or ſervant to Shekh Hamam, who conducted or commanded the caravan, if there was any *conduct* or *command* in it.

THERE were with me ten ſervants, all completely armed, twenty-five Turks, who ſeemed worthy to be depended upon, and four janiſſaries, who had joined us from Cairo, ſo that there were of us forty men perfectly armed, beſides attendants on the cattle. As we had people with us who knew the wells, and alſo a friend who was acquainted with the Atouni, nothing, even in a deſert, could reaſonably alarm us.

WITH great difficulty we pulled down an old acacia-tree, and procured ſome old-dried camels dung, with which we roaſted our two antelopes: very ill-roaſted they were; and execrable meat, though they had been ever ſo well dreſſed, and had had the beſt ſauce of Chriſtendom. However, we were in the deſert, and every thing was acceptable. We had ſome ſpirits, which finiſhed our repaſt that night: it was exceedingly cold, and we ſat thick about the fire.

FIVE men with firelocks, and a number of Arabs with lances, having come towards us, and being challenged by the centinel for not giving *the word*, were then deſired to ſtand, or they would be fired upon. They all cried out, *Salam Alicum!* and I intimated that any three of them might come forward, but deſired them to keep away the Arabs. Three of them accordingly came, and then two more. They

delivered a meſſage from Sidi Haſſan, that my people had killed a man; they deſired that the murderer might be delivered to them, and that I ſhould come to his tent, and ſee juſtice done. "I told them, that none of my people, however provoked, would put a man to death in my abſence, unleſs "in defence of their own lives; that, if I had been there, I "ſhould certainly have ordered them to fire upon a thief "catched in the act of ſtealing within my tent; but, ſince "he was dead, I was ſatisfied as to him, only expected that "Sidi Haſſan would give me up his companion, who had "fled; that, as it was near morning, I ſhould meet him "when the caravan decamped, and hear what he had to ſay "in his defence. In the mean time I forbade any perſon "to come near my tent, or quarters, on any pretence whatever, till-day light." Away they went murmuring, but what they ſaid I did not underſtand. We heard no more of them, and none of us ſlept. All of us, however, repeated our vows of ſtanding by each other; and we ſince found, that we had ſtood in the way of a common practice, of ſtripping theſe poor ſtrangers, the Turks, who come every year this road to Mecca.

At dawn of day, the caravan was all in motion. They had got intelligence, that two days before, about 300 Atouni had watered at Terfowey; and, indeed, there were marks of great reſort at the well, where we filled the water. We had agreed not to load one of our camels, but let the caravan go on before us, and meet the Atouni firſt; that I only ſhould go on horſeback, about two hundred yards into the plain from the tent, and all the reſt follow me on foot with arms in their hands.

Hassan, too, was mounted on horſeback, with about a hundred of his myrmidons, and a number of Arabs on foot. He ſent me word that I was to advance, with only two ſervants; but I returned for anſwer, that I had no intention to advance at all; that if he had any buſineſs, he ſhould ſay ſo, and that I would meet him one to one, or three to ſix, juſt as he pleaſed. He ſent me again word, that he wanted to communicate the intelligence he had of the Atouni, to put me on my guard. I returned for anſwer, that I was already upon my guard, againſt all thieves, and did not make any diſtinction, if people were thieves themſelves, or encouraged others to be ſo, or whether they were Atouni or Ababdé. He then ſent me a meſſage, that it was a cold morning, and wiſhed I would give him a diſh of coffee, and keep thoſe ſtrangers away. I therefore deſired one of my ſervants to bring the coffee-pot, and directing my people to ſit down, I rode up to him, and diſmounted, as he did alſo, when twenty or thirty of his vagabonds came, and ſat down likewiſe. He ſaid he was exceedingly ſurpriſed, after ſending to me laſt night, that I did not come to him; that the whole camp was in murmur at beating the man, and that it was all that he could do to hinder his ſoldiers from falling upon us, and extirpating us all at once; that I did wrong to protect thoſe Turks, who carried always money to Mecca for merchandiſe, and defrauded them of their dues.

My ſervant having juſt poured out a diſh of coffee to give him, I ſaid, Stay, Sir, till we know whether we are in peace. Sidi Haſſan, if that is the way of levying dues upon the Turks, to ſend thieves to rob them in my tent, you ſhould adviſe me firſt of it, and then we ſhould have ſettled the buſineſs. With regard to your preventing people from murdering

murdering me, it is a boaſt ſo ridiculous that I laugh at it. Thoſe pale-faced fellows who are about you muffled up in burnooſes for fear of cold in the morning, are they capable to look janiſſaries in the face like mine? Speak lowly, and in Arabic, when you talk at this rate, or perhaps it will not be in my power to return you the compliment you did me laſt night, or hinder them from killing you on the ſpot. Were ever ſuch words ſpoken! ſaid a man behind; tell me, maſter, are you a king? If Sidi Haſſan, anſwered I, is your maſter, and you ſpeak to me on this occaſion, you are a wretch; get out of my ſight; I ſwear I will not drink a diſh of coffee while you are here, and will mount my horſe directly.

I THEN roſe, and the ſervant took back the coffee-pot; upon which Haſſan ordered his ſervant out of his preſence, ſaying, "No, no; give me the coffee if we are in peace;" and he drank it accordingly. Now, ſays he, paſt is paſt; the Atouni are to meet us at the *mouth of Beder; your people are better armed than mine, are Turks, and uſed to fighting. I would wiſh you to go foremoſt, and we will take charge of your camels, though my people have 4000 of their own, and they have enough to do to take charge of the corn. "And I," ſaid I, "if I wanted water or proviſion, would go to meet the Atouni, who would uſe me well. Why, you don't know to whom you are ſpeaking, nor that the Atouni are Arabs of Ali Bey, and that I am his man of confidence, going to the Sherriffe of Mecca? The Atouni will not hurt *us*; but, as you ſay, you are commander of the caravan, we have all

* The Arabs call theſe narrow paſſes in the mountains Fum, as the Hebrews did Pi, the mouth. Fum el Beder, is the mouth of Beder; Fum el Terfowey, the mouth or paſſage of Terfowey; Piha Hhiroth, the mouth of the valley cut through with ravines.

all ſworn we will not fire a ſhot, till we ſee you heartily engaged; and then we will do our beſt to hinder the Arabs from ſtealing the Sherriffe of Mecca's corn, for *his ſake only*." They all cried out El Fedtah! El Fedtah! ſo I ſaid the prayer of peace as a proxy; for none of the Turks would come near him.

Opposite to where we were encamped is Terfowey, a large mountain, partly green-marble, partly granite, with a red bluſh upon a grey ground, with ſquare oblong ſpots. About forty yards within the narrow valley, which ſeparates this mountain from its neighbour, we ſaw a part of the fuſt or ſhaft of a monſtrous obeliſk of marble, very nearly ſquare, broken at the end, and towards the top. It was nearly thirty feet long, and nineteen feet in the face; about two feet of the bottom were perfectly inſulated, and one whole ſide ſeparated from the mountain. The gully had been widened and levelled, and the road made quite up to underneath the block.

We ſaw likewiſe, throughout the plain, ſmall pieces of jaſper, having green, white, and red ſpots, called in Italy, "Diaſpo Sanguineo." All the mountains on both ſides of the plain ſeemed to be of the ſame ſort, whether they really were ſo or not, I will not ſay, having had no time to examine them.

The 22d, at half paſt one in the morning, we ſet out full of terror about the Atouni. We continued in a direction nearly eaſt, till at three we came to the defiles; but it was ſo dark, that it was impoſſible to diſcern of what the country on each ſide conſiſted. At day-break, we found ourſelves

ſelves at the bottom of a mountain of granite, bare like the former.

We ſaw quantities of ſmall pieces of various ſorts of granite, and porphyry ſcattered over the plain, which had been carried down by a torrent, probably from quarries of ancient ages; theſe were white, mixed with black ſpots; red, with green veins, and black ſpots. After this, all the mountains on the right hand were of red marble in prodigious abundance, but of no great beauty. They continued, as the granite did, for ſeveral miles along the road, while the oppoſite ſide was all of dead-green, ſuppoſed ſerpentine marble.

It was one of the moſt extraordinary ſights I ever ſaw. The former mountains were of conſiderable height, without a tree, or ſhrub, or blade of graſs upon them; but theſe now before us had all the appearance, the one of having been ſprinkled over with Havannah, the other with Brazil ſnuff. I wondered, that, as the red is neareſt the ſea, and the ſhips going down the Abyſſinian coaſt obſerve this appearance within lat. 26°, writers have not imagined this was called the *Red Sea* upon that account, rather than for the many weak reaſons they have relied upon.

About eight o'clock we began to deſcend ſmartly, and, half an hour after, entered into another defile like thoſe before deſcribed, having mountains of green marble on every ſide of us. At nine, on our left, we ſaw the higheſt mountain we had yet paſſed. We found it, upon examination, to be compoſed of ſerpentine marble; and, thro' about one-third of the thickneſs, ran a large vein of jaſper, green, ſpotted with red. Its exceeding hardneſs was ſuch as not to yield to the blows

of a hammer; but the works of old times were more apparent in it, than in any mountain we had ſeen. Ducts, or channels, for carrying water tranſverſely, were obſerved evidently to terminate in this quarry of jaſper: a proof that water was one of the means uſed in cutting theſe hard ſtones.

About ten o'clock, deſcending very rapidly, with green marble and jaſper on each ſide of us, but no other green thing whatever, we had the firſt proſpect of the Red Sea, and, at a quarter paſt eleven, we arrived at Coſſeir. It has been a wonder with all travellers, and with myſelf among the reſt, where the ancients procured that prodigious quantity of fine marble, with which all their buildings abound. That wonder, however, among many others, now ceaſes, after having paſſed, in four days, more granite, porphyry, marble, and jaſper, than would build Rome, Athens, Corinth, Syracuſe, Memphis, Alexandria, and half a dozen ſuch cities. It ſeemed to be very viſible, that thoſe openings in the hills, which I call Defiles, were not natural, but artificial; and that whole mountains had been cut out at theſe places, to preſerve a ſlope towards the Nile as gentle as poſſible: this, I ſuppoſe, might be a deſcent of about one foot in fifty at moſt; ſo that, from the mountains to the Nile, thoſe heavy carriages muſt have moved with as little draught as poſſible, and, at the ſame time, been ſufficiently impeded by friction, ſo as not to run amain, or acquire an increaſed velocity, againſt which, alſo, there muſt have been other proviſions contrived. As I made another excurſion to theſe marble mountains from Coſſeir, I will, once for all, here ſet down what I obſerved concerning their natural appearance.

The

The porphyry ſhews itſelf by a fine purple ſand, without any gloſs or glitter on it, and is exceedingly agreeable to the eye. It is mixed with the native white ſand, and fixed gravel of the plains. Green unvariegated marble, is generally ſeen in the ſame mountain with the porphyry. Where the two veins meet, the marble is for ſome inches brittle, but the porphyry of the ſame hardneſs as in other places.

The granite is covered with ſand, and looks like ſtone of a dirty, brown colour. But this is only the change and impreſſion the ſun and weather have made upon it; for, upon breaking it, you ſee it is grey granite, with black ſpots, with a reddiſh caſt, or bluſh over it. This red ſeems to fade and ſuffer from the outward air, but, upon working or poliſhing the ſurface, this colour again appears. It is in greater quantity than the porphyry, and nearer the Red Sea. Pompey's pillar ſeems to have been from this quarry.

Next to the granite, but never, as I obſerved, joined with it in the ſame mountain, is the red marble. It is covered with ſand of the ſame colour, and looks as if the whole mountain were ſpread over with brick duſt. There is alſo a red marble with white veins, which I have often ſeen at Rome, but not in principal ſubjects, I have alſo ſeen it in Britain. The common green (called Serpentine) looks as if covered over with Brazil ſnuff. Joined with this green, I ſaw two ſamples of that beautiful marble they call Iſabella; one of them with a yellowiſh caſt, which we call Quaker-colour; the other with a blueiſh, which is commonly termed Dove-colour. Theſe two ſeem to divide the reſpective mountains with the ſerpentine. In this green, likewiſe, it was we ſaw the vein of jaſper; but whether it was abſolute-

ly the ſame with this which is the bloody jaſper, or blood-ſtone, is what we had not time to ſettle.

I SHOULD firſt have made mention of the verde antico, the dark green with white irregular ſpots, becauſe it is of the greateſt value, and neareſt the Nile. This is produced in the mountains of the plain green, or ſerpentine, as is the jaſper, and is not diſcoverable by the duſt, or any particular colour upon it. Firſt, there is a blue fleaky ſtone, exceedingly even and ſmooth in the grain, ſolid, and without ſparks or colour. When broken, it is ſomething lighter than a ſlate, and more beautiful than moſt marble; it is like the lava of volcanoes, when poliſhed. After lifting this, we come to the beds of verde antico; and here the quarrying is very obvious, for it has been uncovered in patches, not above twenty feet ſquare. Then, in another part, the green ſtone has been removed, and another pit of it wrought.

I SAW, in ſeveral places in the plain, ſmall pieces of African marble ſcattered about, but no rocks or mountains of it. I ſuppoſe it is found in the heart of ſome other coloured marble, and in ſtrata, like the jaſper and verde antico, and, I ſuſpect, in the mountains of Iſabella marble, eſpecially of the yelloweſt ſort of it, but this is mere conjecture. This prodigious ſtore of marble is placed upon a ridge, whence there is a deſcent to the eaſt or weſt, either to the Nile or Red Sea. The level ground and hard-fixed gravel are proper for the heavieſt carriages, and will eaſily and ſmoothly convey any weight whatever to its place of embarkation on the Nile; ſo that another wonder ceaſed, how the ancients tranſported thoſe vaſt blocks to Thebes, Memphis, and Alexandria.

Cosseir is a ſmall mud-walled village, built upon the ſhore, among hillocks of floating ſand. It is defended by a ſquare fort of hewn ſtone, with ſquare towers in the angles, which have in them three ſmall cannon of iron, and one of braſs, all in very bad condition; of no other uſe but to terrify the Arabs, and hinder them from plundering the town when full of corn, going to Mecca in time of famine. The walls are not high; nor was it neceſſary, if the great guns were in order. But as this is not the caſe, the ramparts are heightened by clay, or by mud-walls, to ſcreen the ſoldiers from the fire-arms of the Arabs, that might otherwiſe command them from the ſandy hills in the neighbourhood.

There are ſeveral wells of brackiſh water on the N. W. of the caſtle, which, for experiment's ſake, I made drinkable, by filtering it through ſand; but the water in uſe is brought from Terfowey, a good day's journey off.

The port, if we may call it ſo, is on the ſouth-eaſt of the town. It is nothing but a rock which runs out about four hundred yards into the ſea, and defends the veſſels, which ride to the weſt of it, from the north and north-eaſt winds, as the houſes of the town cover them from the north-weſt.

There is a large incloſure with a high mud-wall, and, within, every merchant has a ſhop or magazine for his corn and merchandiſe: little of this laſt is imported, unleſs coarſe India goods, for the conſumption of Upper Egypt itſelf, ſince the trade to Dongola and Sennaar has been interrupted.

I had

I HAD orders from Shekh Hamam to lodge in the caſtle. But a few hours before my arrival, Huſſein Bey Abou Kerſh landed from Mecca, and Jidda, and he had taken up the apartments which were deſtined for me. He was one of thoſe Beys whom Ali Bey had defeated, and driven from Cairo. He was called *Abou Kerſh*, i. e. Father Belly, from being immoderately fat; his adverſity had brought him a little into ſhapes. My ſervants, who had gone before, thinking that a friend of the Bey in power was better than an enemy outlawed, and baniſhed by him, had inadvertently put ſome of my baggage into the caſtle juſt when this potentate was taking poſſeſſion. Swords were immediately drawn, death and deſtruction threatened to my poor ſervants, who fled and hid themſelves till I arrived.

UPON their complaint, I told them they had acted improperly; that a ſovereign was a ſovereign all the world over; and it was not my buſineſs to make a difference, whether he was in power or not. I eaſily procured a houſe, and ſent a janiſſary of the four that had joined us from Cairo, with my compliments to the Bey, deſiring reſtitution of my baggage, and that he would excuſe the ignorance of my ſervants, who did not know that he was at Coſſeir; but only, having the firman of the Grand Signior, and letters from the Bey and Port of janiſſaries of Cairo, they preſumed that I had a right to lodge there, if he had not taken up the quarters.

IT happened, that an intimate friend of mine, Mahomet Topal, captain of one of the large Cairo ſhips, trading to Arabia, was a companion of this Huſſein Bey, and had carried him to ſee Captain Thornhill, and ſome of our Engliſh

captains at Jidda, who, as their very laudable cuſtom is, always ſhew ſuch people ſome civilities. He queſtioned the janiſſary about me, who told him I was Engliſh; that I had the protection I had mentioned, and that, from kindneſs and charity, I had furniſhed the ſtranger Turks with water, and proviſion at my own expence, when croſſing the deſert. He profeſſed himſelf exceedingly aſhamed at the behaviour of his ſervants, who had drawn their ſabres upon mine, and had cut my carpet and ſome cords. After which, of his own accord, he ordered his kaya, or next in command, to remove from the lodging he occupied, and inſtead of ſending back my baggage by my ſervant, he directed it to be carried into the apartment from which the kaya had removed. This I abſolutely refuſed, and ſent word, I underſtood he was to be there for a few days only; and as I might ſtay for a longer time, I ſhould only deſire to ſucceed him after his departure, in order to put my baggage in ſafety from the Arabs; but for the preſent they were in no danger, as long *as he was in the town.* I told him, I would pay my reſpects to him in the evening, when the weather cooled. I did ſo, and, contrary to his expectations, brought him a ſmall preſent. Great intercourſe of civility paſſed; my fellow-travellers, the Turks, were all ſeated there, and he gave me, repeatedly, very honourable teſtimonials of my charity, generoſity, and kindneſs to them.

These Turks, finding themſelves in a ſituation to be heard, had not omitted the opportunity of complaining to Huſſein Bey of the attempt of the Arab to rob them in the deſert. The Bey aſked me, If it happened in my tent? I ſaid, It was in that of my ſervants. "What is the reaſon, ſays

ſays he, that, when you Engliſh people know ſo well what good government is, you did not order his head to be ſtruck off, when you had him in your hands, before the door of the tent?"---" Sir," ſaid I, " I know well what good government is; but being a ſtranger, and a Chriſtian, I have no ſort of title to exerciſe the power of life and death in this country; only in this one caſe, when a man attempts my life, then I think I am warranted to defend myſelf, whatever may be the conſequence to him. My men took him in the fact, and they had my orders, in ſuch caſes, to beat the offenders ſo that they ſhould not ſteal theſe two months again: They did ſo; that was puniſhment enough in cold blood."---" But my blood," ſays he, " never cools with regard to ſuch raſcals as theſe: Go (and he called one of his attendants) tell Haſſan, the head of the caravan, from me, that unleſs he hangs that Arab before ſun-riſe to-morrow, I will carry him in irons to Furſhout."

Upon this meſſage I took my leave; ſaying only, " Huſſein Bey, take my advice; procure a veſſel and ſend theſe Turks over to Mecca before you leave this town, or, be aſſured they will all be made reſponſible for the death of this Arab; will be ſtripped naked, and perhaps murdered, as ſoon as your back is turned." It was all I could do to get them protected thus far. This meaſure was already provided for, and the poor Turks joyfully embarked next morning. The thief was not at all moleſted: he was ſent out of the way, under pretence that he had fled.

Cosseir has been miſtaken by different authors. Mr Huet, Biſhop of Avranches, ſays, It is the Myos Hormos of antiquity; others, the Philoteras Portus of Ptolemy. The

The fact is, that neither one nor other is the port, both being conſiderably farther to the northward. Nay, more, the preſent town of Coſſeir was no ancient port at all; old Coſſeir was five or ſix miles to the northward. There can be no ſort of doubt, that it was the Portus Albus, or the White Harbour; for we find the ſteep deſcent from Terfowey, and the marble mountains, called, to this day, the Accaba, which, in Arabic, ſignifies a ſteep aſcent or deſcent, is placed here by Ptolemy with the ſame name, though in Greek that name has no ſignification. Again, Ptolemy places *Aias Mons, or the mountain Aias, juſt over Coſſeir, and this mountain, by the ſame name, is found there at this day. And, upon this mountain, and the one next it, (both over the port) are two very remarkable chalky cliffs; which, being conſpicuous and ſeen far at ſea, have given the name of the White Port, which Coſſeir bore in all antiquity.

I FOUND, by many meridian altitudes of the ſun, taken at the caſtle, that Coſſeir is in lat. 26° 7′ 51″ north; and, by three obſervations of Jupiter's ſatellites, I found its longitude to be 34° 4′ 15″ eaſt of the meridian of Greenwich.

THE caravan from Syené arrived at this time, eſcorted by four hundred Ababdé, all upon camels, each armed with two ſhort javelins. The manner of their riding was very whimſical; they had two ſmall ſaddles on each camel, and ſat back to back, which might be, in their practice, convenient enough; but I am ſure, that, if they had been to fight with us, every ball would have killed two of them, what *their advantage* would have been, I know not.

*Ptolem. Geograph. lib. 4. p. 103.

The whole town was in terror at the influx of ſo many barbarians, who knew no law whatever. They brought a thouſand camels loaded with wheat to tranſport to Mecca. Every body ſhut their doors, and I among the reſt, whilſt the Bey ſent to me to remove into the caſtle. But I had no fear, and reſolved to make an experiment, after hearing theſe were people of *Nimmer*, whether I could truſt them in the deſert or not. However, I ſent all my inſtruments, my money, and the beſt of my baggage, my medicines and memorandums, into a chamber in the caſtle: after the door was locked, and the key brought to me, the Bey ordered to nail up pieces of wood acroſs it, and ſet a centinel to watch it all day, and two in the night.

I was next morning down at the port looking for ſhells in the ſea, when a ſervant of mine came to me in apparent fright and hurry. He told me the Ababdé had found out that Abdel Gin, my Arab, was an *Atouni*, *their enemy*, and that they had either cut his throat, or were about to do it; but, by the fury with which they ſeized him, in his ſight, he could not believe they would ſpare him a minute.

He very providently brought me a horſe, upon which I mounted immediately, ſeeing there was no time to be loſt; and in the fiſhing-dreſs, in which I was, with a red turban about my head, I galloped as hard as the horſe could carry me through the town. If I was alarmed myſelf, I did not fail to alarm many others. They all thought it was ſomething behind, not any thing before me, that occaſioned this ſpeed. I only told my ſervant at paſſing, to ſend two of my people on horſeback after me, and that the Bey would lend them horſes.

I was

I was not got above a mile into the ſands, when I began to reflect on the folly of the undertaking. I was going into the deſert among a band of ſavages, whoſe only trade was robbery and murder, where, in all probability, I ſhould be as ill treated as the man I was attempting to ſave. But, ſeeing a crowd of people about half a mile before me, and thinking they might be at that time murdering that poor, honeſt, and ſimple fellow, all conſideration of my own ſafety for the time vaniſhed.

Upon my coming near them, ſix or eight of them ſurrounded me on horſeback, and began to gabble in their own language. I was not very fond of my ſituation. It would have coſt them nothing to have thruſt a lance through my back, and taken the horſe away; and, after ſtripping me, to have buried me in a hillock of ſand, if they were ſo kind as give themſelves that laſt trouble. However, I picked up courage, and putting on the beſt appearance I could, ſaid to them ſteadily, without trepidation, "What men are theſe before?" The anſwer, after ſome pauſe, was, *they are men;* and they looked very queerly, as if they meant to aſk each other, What ſort of a ſpark is this? "Are thoſe before us Ababdé, ſaid I; are they from Shekh Ammer?" One of them nodded, and grunted ſullenly, rather than ſaid "Aye, Ababdé from Shekh Ammer." "Then Salàm Alicum! ſaid I, we are brethren. How does the Nimmer? Who commands you here? Where is Ibrahim?

At the mention of Nimmer, and Ibrahim, their countenance changed, not to any thing ſweeter or gentler than before, but to a look of great ſurpriſe. They had not returned my ſalutation, *peace be between us;* but one of them aſked

me who I was?---" Tell me firſt, ſaid I, who that is you have before?"---" It is an Arab, our enemy, ſays he, guilty of our blood."---" He is, replied I, my ſervant. He is a Howadat Arab, his tribe lives in peace at the gates of Cairo, in the ſame manner your's at Shekh Ammer does at thoſe of Aſſouan." " I aſk you, Where is Ibrahim your Shekh's ſon?"--- " Ibrahim, ſays he, is at our head, he commands us here. But who are you?"---" Come with me, and ſhew me Ibrahim, ſaid I, and I will ſhew you who I am."

I PASSED by theſe, and by another party of them. They had thrown a hair rope about the neck of Abdel Gin, who was almoſt ſtrangled already, and cried out moſt miſerably, for me not to leave him. I went directly to the black tent which I ſaw had a long ſpear thruſt up in the end of it, and met at the door Ibrahim and his brother, and ſeven or eight Ababdé. He did not recollect me, but I diſmounted cloſe to the tent-door, and had ſcarce taken hold of the pillar of the tent, and ſaid *Fiarduc* *, when Ibrahim, and his brother both knew me. " What! ſaid they, are you *Yagoube* our phyſician, and our friend?"---" Let me aſk you, replied I, if you are the Ababdé of Shekh Ammer, that curſed yourſelves, and your children, if you ever lifted a hand againſt me, or mine, in the deſert, or in the plowed field: If you have repented of that oath, or ſworn falſely on purpoſe to deceive me, here I am come to you in the *deſert*." " What is the matter, ſays Ibrahim, we are the Ababdé of Shekh Ammer, there are no other, and we ſtill ſay, Curſed be he, whether

* That is, I am under your protection.

ther our father, or children, that lifts his hand againſt you, in the deſert, or in the plowed field." "Then, ſaid I, you are all accurſed in the deſert, and in the field, for a number of your people are going to murder my ſervant. They took him indeed from my houſe *in the town*, perhaps that is not included in your curſe, as it is neither in the *deſert* nor the *plowed field*."—I was very angry. "Whew! ſays Ibrahim with a kind of whiſtle, that is downright nonſenſe. Who are thoſe of my people that have authority to murder, and take priſoners while I am here? Here one of you, get upon Yagoube's horſe, and bring that man to me." Then turning to me, he deſired I would go into the tent and ſit down: "For God renounce me and mine, (ſays he), if it is "as you ſay, and one of them hath touched the hair of his "head, if ever *he* drinks of the Nile again."

A NUMBER of people who had ſeen me at Shekh Ammer, now came all around me; ſome with complaints of ſickneſs, ſome with compliments; more with impertinent queſtions, that had no relation to either. At laſt came in the culprit Abdel Gin, with forty or fifty of the Ababdé who had gathered round him, but no rope about his neck. There began a violent altercation between Ibrahim, and his men, in their own language. All that I could gueſs was, that the men had the worſt of it; for every one preſent ſaid ſomething harſh to them, as diſapproving the action.

I HEARD the name of Haſſan Sidi Haſſan often in the diſpute. I began to ſuſpect ſomething, and deſired in Arabic to know what that Sidi Haſſan was, ſo often mentioned in diſcourſe, and then the whole ſecret came out.

THE

The reader will remember, that this Arab, Abdel Gin, was the perſon that ſeized the ſervant of Haſſan, the Captain of the Caravan, when he was attempting to ſteal the Turk's portmanteau out of my tent; that my people had beat him till he lay upon the ground like dead, and that Huſſein Bey, at the complaint of the Caramaniots, had ordered him to be hanged. Now, in order to revenge this, Haſſan had told the Ababdé that Abdel Gin was an Atouni ſpy, that he had detected him in the Caravan, and that he was come to learn the number of the Ababdé, in order to bring his companions to ſurpriſe them. He did not ſay one word that he was my ſervant, nor that I was at Coſſeir; ſo the people thought they had a very meritorious ſacrifice to make, in the perſon of poor Abdel Gin.

All paſſed now in kindneſs, freſh medicines were aſked for the Nimmer, great thankfulneſs, and profeſſions, for what they had received, and a prodigious quantity of meat on wooden platters very excellently dreſſed, and moſt agreeably diluted with freſh water, from the coldeſt rock of Terfowey, was ſet before me.

In the mean time, two of my ſervants, attended by three of Huſſein Bey, came in great anxiety to know what was the matter; and, as neither they nor the Arabs choſe much each others company, I ſent them with a ſhort account of the whole to the Bey; and ſoon after took my leave, carrying Abdel Gin along with me, who had been clothed by Ibrahim from head to foot. We were accompanied by two Ababdé, in caſe of accident.

I CANNOT

I CANNOT help here accuſing myſelf of what, doubtleſs, may be well reputed a very great ſin. I was ſo enraged at the traitorous part which Haſſan had acted, that, at parting, I could not help ſaying to Ibrahim, "Now, Shekh, I have done every thing you have deſired, without ever expecting fee, or reward; the only thing I now ask you, and it is probably the laſt, is, that you revenge me upon this Haſſan, who is every day in your power." Upon this, he gave me his hand, ſaying, "He ſhall not die in his bed, or I ſhall never ſee old age."

WE now returned all in great ſpirits to Coſſeir, and I obſerved that my unexpected connection with the Ababdé had given me an influence in that place, that put me above all fear of perſonal danger, eſpecially as they had ſeen in the deſert, that the Atouni were my friends alſo, as reclaiming this Arab ſhewed they really were.

THE Bey inſiſted on my ſupping with him. At his deſire I told him the whole ſtory, at which he ſeemed to be much ſurpriſed, ſaying, ſeveral times, "Menullah! Menullah! Mucktoub!" It is God's doing, it is God's doing, it was written ſo. And, when I had finiſhed, he ſaid to me, "I will not leave this traitor with you to trouble you further; I will oblige him, as it is his duty, to attend me to Furſhout." This he accordingly did; and, to my very great ſurpriſe, though he might be aſſured I had complained of him to Shekh Hamam, meeting me the next day, when they were all ready to depart, and were drinking coffee with the Bey, he gave me a ſlip of paper, and deſired me, by that direction, to buy him a ſabre, which might be procured in Mecca. It ſeems it is the manufacture of Perſia, and, though I do not underſtand

in the leaſt, the import of the terms, I give it to the reader that he may know by what deſcription he is to buy an excellent ſabre. It is called Suggaro Tabanne Hareſanne Agemmi, *for Sidi Haſſan of Furſhout.*

Although pretty much uſed to ſtifle my reſentment upon impertinences of this kind, I could not, after the trick he had played me with the Ababdé, carry it indifferently; I threw the billet before the Bey, ſaying to Haſſan, "A ſword of that value would be uſeleſs and miſemployed in the hand of a coward and a traitor, ſuch as ſurely you muſt be ſenſible I know you to be." He looked to the Bey as if appealing to him, from the incivility of the obſervation; but the Bey, without ſcruple, anſwered, "It is true, it is true what he ſays, Haſſan; if I was in Ali Bey's place, when you dared uſe a ſtranger of mine, or any ſtranger, as you have done him, I would plant you upon a ſharp ſtake in the market-place, till the boys in the town ſtoned you to death; but he has complained of you in a letter, and I will be a witneſs againſt you before Hamam, for your conduct is not that of a *Muſſulman.*"

While I was engaged with the Ababdé, a veſſel was ſeen in diſtreſs in the offing, and all the boats went out and towed her in. It was the veſſel in which the twenty-five Turks had embarked, which had been heavily loaded. Nothing is ſo dreadful as the embarkation in that ſea; for the boats have no decks; the whole, from ſtern to ſtem, being filled choak-full of wheat, the waſte, that is the ſlope of the veſſel, between the height of her ſtem and ſtern, is filled up by one plank on each ſide, which is all that is above the ſurface of the waves. Sacks, tarpaulins, or mats, are ſtrowed along

the ſurface of the wheat upon which all the paſſengers lye. On the leaſt agitation of the waves, the ſea getting in upon the wheat, increaſes its weight ſo prodigiouſly, that, falling below the level of the gunnel, the water ruſhes in between the plank and that part of the veſſel, and down it goes to the bottom.

Though every day produces an accident of this kind from the ſame cauſe, yet ſuch is the deſire of gaining money in that ſeaſon, which offers but once a-year, that every ſhip ſails, loaded in the ſame manner as the laſt which periſhed. This was juſt the caſe with the veſſel that had carried the Turks. Anxious to go away, they would not wait the ſigns of the weather being rightly ſettled. *Ullah Kerim!* they cry, 'God is great and is merciful'; and upon that they embark in a navigation, where it needs indeed a miracle to ſave them.

The Turks all came aſhore but one; the youngeſt, and, according to all appearance, the beſt, had fallen over board, and periſhed. The Bey received them, and with great charity entertained them all at his own expence, but they were ſo terrified with the ſea, as almoſt to reſolve never to make another attempt.

The Bey had brought with him from Jidda, a ſmall, but tight veſſel belonging to * Sheher; which came from that country loaded with frankincenſe, the commodity of that

* On the eaſt coaſt of Arabia Felix, Syagrum Promontorium.

port. The Rais had buſineſs down the Gulf at Tor, and he had ſpoken to the Bey, to recommend him to me. I had no buſineſs at Tor, but as we had grown into a kind of friendſhip, from frequent converſation, and as he was, according to his own word, a great ſaint, like my laſt boatman, a character that I thought I could perfectly manage, I propoſed to the Bey, that he and I ſhould contribute ſomething to make it worth this Captain's pains, to take our friends the Turks on board, and carry them to Yambo, that they might not be deprived of that bleſſing which would reſult from their viſit to the Prophet's tomb, and which they had toiled ſo much to earn. I promiſed, in that caſe, to hire his veſſel at ſo much a month upon its return from Yambo; and, as I had then formed a reſolution of making a ſurvey of the Red Sea to the Straits of Babelmandeb, the Rais was to take his directions from me, till I pleaſed to diſmiſs him.

Nothing was more agreeable to the views of all parties than this. The Bey promiſed to ſtay till they ſailed, and I engaged to take him after he returned; and as the captain, in quality of a ſaint, aſſured us, that any rock that ſtood in our way in the voyage, would either jump aſide, or become ſoft like a ſpunge, as it had often happened before, both the Turks and we were now aſſured of a voyage without danger.

All was ſettled to our mutual ſatisfaction, when, unluckily, the Turks going down to their boat, met Sidi Haſſan, whom, with reaſon, they thought the author of all their misfortunes. The whole twenty-four drew their ſwords, and, without ſeeking ſabres from Perſia, as he had done,

they would have cut Sidi Haſſan in pieces, but, fortunately for him, the Turks had great cloth trowſers, like Dutchmen, and they could not run, whilſt he ran very nimbly in his. Several piſtols, however, were fired, one of which ſhot him in the back part of the ear; on which he fled for refuge to the Bey, and we never ſaw him more.

CHAP. IX.

Voyage to Jibbel Zumrud—Return to Coſſeir—Sails from Coſſeir—Jaſateen Iſlands—Arrive at Tor.

THE Turks and the Bey departed, and with the Turks I diſpatched my Arab, Abdel Gin, not only giving him ſomething myſelf, but recommending him to my beneficent countrymen at Jidda, if he ſhould go there.

I NOW took up my quarters in the caſtle, and as the Ababdé had told ſtrange ſtories about the Mountain of Emeralds, I determined, till my captain ſhould return, to make a voyage thither. There was no poſſibility of knowing the diſtance by report; ſometimes it was twenty-five miles, ſometimes it was fifty, ſometimes it was a hundred, and God knows how much more.

I CHOSE a man who had been twice at theſe mountains of emeralds; with the beſt boat then in the harbour, and on Tueſday the 14th of March, we ſailed, with the wind at North Eaſt, from the harbour of Coſſeir, about an hour before the dawn of day. We kept coaſting along, with a very moderate wind, much diverted with the red and green appearances

pearances of the marble mountains upon the coaſt. Our veſſel had one ſail, like a ſtraw mattreſs, made of the leaves of a kind of palm-tree, which they call *Doom*. It was fixed above, and drew up like a curtain, but did not lower with a yard like a ſail; ſo that upon ſtreſs of weather, if the ſail was furled, it was ſo top-heavy, that the ſhip muſt founder, or the maſt be carried away. But, by way of indemnification, the planks of the veſſel were ſewed together, and there was not a nail, nor a piece of iron, in the whole ſhip; ſo that, when you ſtruck upon a rock, ſeldom any damage enſued. For my own part, from an abſolute deteſtation of her whole conſtruction, I inſiſted upon keeping cloſe along ſhore, at an eaſy ſail.

The Continent, to the leeward of us, belonged to our friends the Ababdé. There was great plenty of ſhell-fiſh to be picked up on every ſhoal. I had loaded the veſſel with four ſkins of freſh water, equal to four hogſheads, with cords, and buoys fixed to the end of each of them, ſo that, if we had been ſhipwrecked near land, as rubbing two ſticks together made us fire, I was not afraid of receiving ſuccour, before we were driven to the laſt extremity, provided we did not periſh in the ſea, of which I was not very apprehenſive.

On the 15th, about nine o'clock, I ſaw a large high rock, like a pillar, riſing out of the ſea. At firſt, I took it for a part of the Continent; but, as we advanced nearer it, the ſun being very clear, and the ſea calm, I took an obſervation, and as our ſituation was lat. 25° 6′, and the iſland about a league diſtant, to the S. S. W. of us, I concluded its latitude to be pretty exactly 25° 3′ North. This iſland is

about three miles from the ſhore, of an oval form, riſing in the middle. It ſeems to me to be of granite; and is called, in the language of the country, Jibbel Siberget, which has been tranſlated *the Mountain of Emeralds*. Siberget, however, is a word in the language of the *Shepherds*, who, I doubt, never in their lives ſaw an emerald; and though the Arabic tranſlation is *Jibbel Zumrud*, and that word has been transferred to the emerald, a very fine ſtone, oftener ſeen ſince the diſcovery of the new world, yet I very much doubt, that either *Siberget* or *Zumrud* ever meant Emerald in old times. My reaſon is this, that we found, both here and in the Continent, ſplinters, and pieces of green pellucid chryſtaline ſubſtance; yet, though green, they were veiny, clouded, and not at all ſo hard as rock-cryſtal; a mineral production certainly, but a little harder than glaſs, and this, I apprehend, was what the *Shepherds*, or people of Beja, called *Siberget*, the Latins *Smaragdus*, and the Moors *Zumrud*.

The 16th, at day-break in the morning, I took the Arab of Coſſeir with me, who knew the place. We landed on a point perfectly deſert; at firſt, ſandy like Coſſeir, afterwards, where the ſoil was fixed, producing ſome few plants of rue or abſinthium. We advanced above three miles farther in a perfectly deſert country, with only a few acacia-trees ſcattered here and there, and came to the foot of the mountains. I aſked my guide the name of that place; he ſaid it was Saiel. They are never at a loſs for a name, and thoſe who do not underſtand the language, always believe them. This would have been the caſe in the preſent conjuncture. He knew not the name of the place, and perhaps it had no name, but he called it *Saiel*, which ſignifies a male acacia-tree; merely becauſe he ſaw an acacia growing there; and, with

with equal reaſon, he might have called every mile Saiel, from the Gulf of Suez to the line.

We ſee this abuſe in the old Itineraries, eſpecially in the *Antonine, from ſuch a town to ſuch a town, ſo many miles; and what is the next ſtation? *(el ſeggera)* ten miles. This el ſeggera †, the Latin readers take to be the name of a town, as Harduin, and all commentators on the claſſics, have done. But ſo far from Seggera ſignifying a town, it imports juſt the contrary, that there is no town there, but the traveller muſt be obliged to take up his quarters under a tree that night, for ſuch is the meaning of Seggera as a ſtation, and ſo likewiſe of Saiel.

At the foot of the mountain, or about ſeven yards up from the baſe of it, are five pits or ſhafts, none of them four feet in diameter, called the *Zumrud Wells*, from which the ancients are ſaid to have drawn the emeralds. We were not provided with materials, and little endowed with inclination, to deſcend into any one of them, where the air was probably bad. I picked up the nozzels, and ſome fragments of lamps, like thoſe of which we find millions in Italy: and ſome worn fragments, but very ſmall ones, of that brittle green chryſtal, which is the ſiberget and bilur of Ethiopia, perhaps the zumrud, the ſmaragdus deſcribed by Pliny, but by no means the emerald, known ſince the diſcovery of the new world, whoſe firſt character abſolutely

* Itin. Anton. a Carth. p. 4.

† So the next ſtage from Syené is called Hiera Sycaminos, a ſycamore-tree, Ptol. lib. 4. p. 108.

ly defeats its pretenſion, the true Peruvian emerald being equal in hardneſs to the ruby.

Pliny* reckons up twelve kind of emeralds, and names them all by the country where they are found. Many have thought the ſmaragdus to be but a finer kind of jaſper. Pomet aſſures us it is a mineral, formed in iron, and ſays he had one to which iron-ore was ſticking. If this was the caſe, the fineſt emeralds ſhould not come from Peru, where, as far as ever has been yet diſcovered, there is no iron.

With regard to the Oriental emeralds, which they ſay come from the Eaſt Indies, they are now ſufficiently known, and the value of each ſtone pretty well aſcertained; but all our induſtry and avarice have not yet diſcovered a mine of emeralds there, as far as I have heard. That there were emeralds in the Eaſt Indies, upon the firſt diſcovery of it by the Cape, there is no ſort of doubt; that there came emeralds from that quarter in the time of the Romans, ſeems to admit of as little; but few antique emeralds have ever been ſeen; and ſo greatly in eſteem, and rare were they in thoſe times, that it was made a crime for any artiſt to engrave upon an emerald †.

It is very natural to ſuppoſe, that ſome people of the Eaſt had a communication and trade with the new world, before we attempted to ſhare it with them; and that the emeralds, they had brought from that quarter, were thoſe which came afterwards

* Plin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 5. † Ditto.

afterwards into Europe, and were called the *Oriental*, till they were confounded with the * Peruvian, by the quantity of that kind brought into the Eaſt Indies, by the Jews and Moors, after the diſcovery of the new Continent.

But what invincibly proves, that the ancients and we are not agreed as to the ſame ſtone, is, that † Theophraſtus ſays, that in the Egyptian commentaries he ſaw mention made of an emerald four cubits, (ſix feet long,) which was ſent as a preſent to one of their kings; and in one of the temples of Jupiter in Egypt he ſaw an obeliſk 60 feet high, made of four emeralds: and Roderick of Toledo informs us, that, when the Saracens took that city, Tarik, their chief, had a table of an emerald 365 cubits, or 547½ feet long. The Mooriſh hiſtories of the invaſion of Spain are full of ſuch emeralds.

Having ſatisfied my curioſity as to theſe mountains, without having ſeen a living creature, I returned to my boat, where I found all well, and an excellent dinner of fiſh prepared. Theſe were of three kinds, called Biſſer, Surrumbac, and Nhoude el Benaat. The firſt of theſe ſeems to be of the Oyſter-kind, but the ſhells are both equally curved and hollow, and open with a hinge on the ſide like a muſſel. It has a large beard, like an oyſter, which is not eatable, but which ſhould be ſtript off. We found ſome of theſe two feet long, but the largeſt I believe ever ſeen compoſes the baptiſmal font in the church of Notre Dame in Paris‡. The ſecond is the Concha Veneris, with large projecting

* Tavernier vol. II. Voyag. † Theophraſtus Περὶ λίθων. ‡ Clamps.

points like fingers. The third, called the Breaſts of the Virgin, is a beautiful ſhell, perfectly pyramidal, generally about four inches in height, and beautifully variegated with mother-of-pearl, and green. All theſe fiſhes have a peppery taſte, but are not therefore reckoned the leſs wholeſome, and they are ſo much the more convenient, that they carry that ingredient of ſpice along with them for ſauce, with which travellers, like me, very ſeldom burden themſelves.

Besides a number of very fine ſhells, we picked up ſeveral branches of coral, coralines, yuſſer*, and many other articles of natural hiſtory. We were abundantly provided with every thing; the weather was fair; and we never doubted it was to continue, ſo we were in great ſpirits, and only regreted that we had not, once for all, taken leave of Coſſeir, and ſtood over for Jidda.

In this diſpoſition we ſailed about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the wind flattered us ſo much, that next day, the 17th, about eleven o'clock, we found ourſelves about two leagues a-ſtern of a ſmall iſland, known to the Pilot by the name of Jibbel Macouar. This iſland is at leaſt four miles from the ſhore, and is a high land, ſo that it may be ſeen, I ſuppoſe, eight leagues at ſea, but is generally confounded with the Continent. I computed myſelf to be about 4′ of the meridian diſtant when I made the obſervation, and take its latitude to be about 24° 2′ on the centre of the iſland.

The

* It is a Keratophyte, growing at the bottom of the ſea.

The land here, after running from Jibbel Siberget to Macouar, in a direction nearly N. W. and S. E. turns round in ſhape of a large promontory, and changes its direction to N. E. and S. W. and ends in a ſmall bay or inlet; ſo that, by fanciful people, it has been thought to reſemble the noſe of a man, and is called by the Arabs, *Ras el Anf*, the Cape of the Noſe. The mountains, within land, are of a duſky burnt colour; broken into points, as if interſected by torrents.

The coaſting veſſels from Maſuah and Suakem which are bound to Jidda, in the ſtrength of the Summer monſoon, ſtand cloſe in ſhore down the coaſt of Abyſſinia, where they find a gentle ſteady eaſt wind blowing all night, and a weſt wind very often during the day, if they are near enough the ſhore, for which purpoſe their veſſels are built.

Besides this, the violent North-Eaſt monſoon raking in the direction of the Gulf, blows the water out of the Straits of Babelmandeb into the Indian Ocean, where, being accumulated, it preſſes itſelf backwards; and, unable to find way in the middle of the Channel, creeps up among the ſhallows on each coaſt of the Red Sea. However long the voyage from Maſuah to Jibbel Macouar may ſeem, yet theſe gentle winds and favourable currents, if I may ſo call thoſe in the ſea, ſoon ran us down the length of that mountain.

A large veſſel, however, does not dare to try this, whilſt conſtantly among ſhoals, and cloſe on a lee-ſhore; but thoſe ſewed together, and yielding without damage to the ſtreſs, ſlide over the banks of white coral, and even ſometimes the rocks. Arrived at this iſland, they ſet their prow towards

the oppoſite ſhore, and croſs the Channel in one night, to the coaſt of Arabia, being nearly before the wind. The track of this extraordinary navigation is marked upon* the map, and it is ſo well verified, that no ſhip-maſter need doubt it.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, with a favourable wind and fine weather, we continued along the coaſt, with an eaſy ſail. We ſaw no appearance of any inhabitants; the mountains were broken and pointed, as before taking the direction of the coaſt; advancing and receding as the ſhore itſelf did. This coaſt is a very bold one, nor was there in any of the iſlands we had ſeen, ſhoals or anchoring places, unleſs upon the rock itſelf; ſo that, when we landed, we could run our boltſprit home over the land.

This iſland, Jibbel Macouar, has breakers running off from it at all points; but, though we hauled cloſe to theſe, we had no ſoundings. We then went betwixt it and the ſmall iſland, that lies S. S. E. from it about three miles, and tried for ſoundings to the leeward, but we had none, although almoſt touching the land. About ſun-ſet, I ſaw a ſmall ſandy iſland, which we left about a league to the weſtward of us. It had no ſhrubs, nor trees, nor height, that could diſtinguiſh it. My deſign was to puſh on to the river Frat, which is repreſented in the charts as very large and deep, coming from the Continent; though, conſidering by its latitude that it is above the tropical rains, (for it is laid down

* Vide the track of this Navigation laid down on the Chart.

down about lat. 21° 25′), I never did believe that any ſuch river exiſted.

In fact, we know no river, north of the ſources of the Nile, that does not fall into the Nile. Nay, I may ſay, that not one river, in all Abyſſinia, empties itſelf into the Red Sea. The tropical rains are bounded, and finiſh, in lat. 16°, and there is no river, from the mountains, that falls into the deſert of Nubia; nor do we know of any river which is tributary to the Nile, but what has its riſe under the tropical rains. It would be a very ſingular circumſtance, then, that the Frat ſhould riſe in one of the dryeſt places in the globe, that it ſhould be a river at leaſt equal to the Nile; and ſhould maintain itſelf full in all ſeaſons, which the Nile does not; laſt of all, in a country where water is ſo ſcarce and precious, that it ſhould not have a town or ſettlement upon it, either ancient or modern, nor that it ſhould be reſorted to by any encampment of Arabs, who might croſs over and traffic with Jidda, which place is immediately oppoſite.

On the 18th, at day-break, I was alarmed at ſeeing no land, as I had no ſort of confidence in the ſkill of my pilot, however ſure I was of my latitude. About an hour after ſun-ſet, I obſerved a high rugged rock, which the pilot told me, upon inquiry, was Jibbel, (viz. a *Rock*), and this was all the ſatisfaction I could get. We bore down upon it with a wind, ſcant enough; and, about four, we came to an anchor. As we had no name for that iſland, and I did not know that any traveller had been there before me, I uſed the privilege by giving it my own, in memory of having been there. The ſouth of this iſland ſeems to be high and rocky,

rocky, the north is low and ends in a tail, or ſloping bank, but is exceedingly ſteep to, and at the length of your bark any way from it, you have no ſoundings.

All this morning ſince before day, our pilot had begged us to go no farther. He ſaid the wind had changed; that, by infallible ſigns he had ſeen to the ſouthward, he was confident (without any chance of being miſtaken) that in twenty-four hours we ſhould have a ſtorm, which would put us in danger of ſhipwreck; that Frat, which I wanted to ſee, was immediately oppoſite to Jidda, ſo that either a country, or Engliſh boat would run me over in a night and a day, when I might procure people who had connections in the country, ſo as to be under no apprehenſion of any accident; but that, in the preſent track I was going, every man that I ſhould meet was my enemy. Although not very ſuſceptible of fear, my ears were never ſhut againſt reaſon, and to what the pilot ſtated, I added in my own breaſt, that we might be blown out to ſea, and want both water and proviſion. We, therefore, dined as quickly as poſſible, and encouraged one another all we could. A little after ſix the wind came eaſterly, and changeable, with a thick haze over the land. This cleared about nine in the evening, and one of the fineſt and ſteadieſt gales that ever blew, carried us ſwiftly on, directly for Coſſeir. The ſky was full of dappled clouds, ſo that, though I, ſeveral times, tried to catch a ſtar in the meridian, I was always fruſtrated. The wind became freſher, but ſtill very fair.

The 19th, at day-break, we ſaw the land ſtretching all the way northward, and, ſoon after, diſtinctly diſcerned Jibbel

Jibbel Siberget upon our lee-bow. We had ſeen it indeed before, but had taken it for the main-land.

After paſſing ſuch an agreeable night, we could not be quiet, and laughed at our pilot about his perfect knowledge of the weather. The fellow ſhook his head, and ſaid, he had been miſtaken before now, and was always glad when it happened ſo; but ſtill we were not arrived at Coſſeir, though he hoped and believed we ſhould get there in ſafety. In a very little time the vane on the maſt-head began to turn, firſt north, then eaſt, then ſouth, and back again to all the points in the compaſs; the ſky was quite dark, with thick rain to the ſouthward of us; then followed a moſt violent clap of thunder, but no lightning; and back again came the wind fair at ſouth-eaſt. We all looked rather downcaſt at each other, and a general ſilence followed. This, however, I ſaw availed us nothing, we were in the ſcrape, and were to endeavour to get out of it the beſt way we could. The veſſel went at a prodigious rate. The ſail that was made of mat happened to be new, and, filled with a ſtrong wind, weighed prodigiouſly. What made this worſe, was, the maſts were placed a little forward. The firſt thing I aſked, was, if the pilot could not lower his main-ſail? But that we found impoſſible, the yard being fixed to the maſt-head. The next ſtep was to reef it, by hauling it in part up like a curtain: this our pilot deſired us not to attempt; for it would endanger our foundering. Notwithſtanding which, I deſired my ſervant to help me with the haulyards; and to hold them in his hand, only giving them a turn round the bench. This increaſing the veſſel's weight above and before, as ſhe already had too much preſſure, made her give

two pitches, the one after the other, ſo that I thought ſhe was buried under the waves, and a conſiderable deal of water came in upon us. I am fully ſatisfied, had ſhe not been in good order, very buoyant, and in her trim, ſhe would have gone to the bottom, as the wind continued to blow a hurricane.

I BEGAN now to throw off my upper coat and trowſers, that I might endeavour to make ſhore, if the veſſel ſhould founder, whilſt the ſervants ſeemed to have given themſelves up, and made no preparation. The pilot kept in cloſe by the land, to ſee if no bight, or inlet, offered to bring up in; but we were going with ſuch violence, that I was ſatisfied we ſhould overſet if we attempted this. Every ten minutes we ran over the white coral banks, which we broke in pieces with the grating of a file, upon iron, and, what was the moſt terrible of all, a large wave followed higher than our ſtern, curling over it, and ſeemed to be the inſtrument deſtined by Providence to bury us in the abyſs.

OUR pilot began apparently to loſe his underſtanding with fright. I begged him to be ſteady, perſuading him to take a glaſs of ſpirits, and deſired him not to diſpute or doubt any thing that I ſhould do or order, for that I had ſeen much more terrible nights in the ocean; I aſſured him, that all harm done to his veſſel ſhould be repaired when we ſhould get to Coſſeir, or even a new one bought for him, if his own was much damaged. He anſwered me nothing, but that *Mahomet was the prophet of* GOD.—Let him prophecy, ſaid I, as long as he pleaſes, but what I order you is to keep ſteady to the helm; mind the vane on the top of the maſt, and ſteer ſtraight before the wind, for I am reſolved to cut

 that

that main-ſail to pieces, and prevent the maſt from going away, and your veſſel from ſinking to the bottom. I got no anſwer to this which I could hear, the wind was ſo high, except ſomething about the mercy and the merit of Sidi Ali el Genowi. I now became violently angry. "D—n Sidi Ali el Genowi, ſaid I, you beaſt, cannot you give me a rational anſwer? Stand to your helm, look at the vane; keep the veſſel ſtraight before the wind, or, by the great G—d who ſits in heaven, (another kind of oath than by *Sidi Ali el Genowi*), I will ſhoot you dead the firſt yaw the ſhip gives, or the firſt time that you leave the ſteerage where you are ſtanding." He anſwered only, Maloom, *i. e.* very well.—All this was ſooner done than ſaid; I got the main-ſail in my arms, and, with a large knife, cut it all to ſhreds, which eaſed the veſſel greatly, though we were ſtill going at a prodigious rate.

About two o'clock the wind ſeemed to fail, but, half an hour after, was more violent than ever. At three, it fell calm. I then encouraged my pilot, who had been very attentive, and, I believe, had pretty well got through the whole liſt of ſaints in his calendar, and I aſſured him that he ſhould receive ample reparation for the loſs of his main-ſail. We now ſaw diſtinctly the white cliffs of the two mountains above Old Coſſeir, and on the 19th, a little before ſun ſet, we arrived ſafely at the New.

We, afterwards, heard how much more fortunate we had been than ſome of our fellow-ſailors that ſame night; three of the veſſels belonging to Coſſeir, loaded with wheat for Yambo, periſhed, with all on board of them, in the gale; among theſe was the veſſel that firſt had the Turks on board.

This account was brought by Sidi Ali el Meymoum el Shehrie, which ſignifies ' Ali, the ape or monkey, from Sheher.' For though he was a ſaint, yet being in figure liker to a monkey, they thought it proper to diſtinguiſh him by that to which he bore the greateſt reſemblance.

We were all heartily ſick of Coſſeir embarkations, but the veſſel of Sidi Ali el Meymoum, tho' ſmall, was tight and well-rigged; had ſails of canvas, and had navigated in the Indian Ocean; the Rais had four ſtout men on board, apparently good ſailors; he himſelf, though near ſixty, was a very active, vigorous little man, and to the full as good a ſailor as he was a ſaint. It was on the 5th of April, after having made my laſt obſervation of longitude at Coſſeir, that I embarked on board this veſſel, and ſailed from that port. It was neceſſary to conceal from ſome of my ſervants our intention of proceeding to the bottom of the Gulf, leaſt, finding themſelves among Chriſtians ſo near Cairo, they might deſert a voyage of which they were ſick, before it was well begun.

For the firſt two days we had hazy weather, with little wind. In the evening, the wind fell calm. We ſaw a high land to the ſouth-weſt of us, very rugged and broken, which ſeemed parallel to the coaſt, and higher in the middle than at either end. This, we conceived, was the mountain that divides the coaſt of the Red Sea from the eaſtern part of the Valley of Egypt, correſponding to Monfalout and Siout. We brought to, in the night, behind a ſmall low Cape, tho' the wind was fair, our Rais being afraid of the Jaſſateen Iſlands, which we knew were not far a-head.

We

We caught a great quantity of fine fiſh this night with a line, ſome of them weighing 14 pounds. The beſt were blue in the back, like a ſalmon, but their belly red, and marked with blue round ſpots. They reſembled a ſalmon in ſhape, but the fiſh was white, and not ſo firm.

In the morning of the 6th we made the Jaffateen Iſlands. They are four in number, joined by ſhoals and ſunken rocks. They are crooked, or bent, like half a bow, and are dangerous for ſhips ſailing in the night, becauſe there ſeems to be a paſſage between them, to which, when pilots are attending, they neglect two ſmall dangerous ſunk rocks, that lie almoſt in the middle of the entrance, in deep water.

I understood, afterwards, from the Rais, that, had it not been from ſome marks he ſaw of blowing weather, he would not have come in to the Jaffateen Iſlands, but ſtood directly for Tor, running between the iſland Sheduan, and a rock which is in the middle of the channel, after you paſs Ras Mahomet. But we lay ſo perfectly quiet, the whole night, that we could not but be grateful to the Rais for his care, although we had ſeen no apparent reaſon for it.

Next morning, the 7th, we left our very quiet birth in the bay, and ſtood cloſe, nearly ſouth-eaſt, along-ſide of the two ſouthermoſt Jaffateen Iſlands, our head upon the center of Sheduan, till we had cleared the eaſtermoſt of thoſe iſlands about three miles. We then paſſed Sheduan, leaving it to the eaſtward about three leagues, and keeping nearly a N. N. W. courſe, to range the weſt ſide of Jibbel Zeit. This is a large deſert iſland, or rock, that is about four miles from the main.

The paſſage between them is practicable by ſmall craft only, whoſe planks are ſewed together, and are not affected by a ſtroke upon hard ground; for it is not for want of water that this navigation is dangerous. All the weſt coaſt is very bold, and has more depth of water than the eaſt; but on this ſide there is no anchoring ground, nor ſhoals. It is a rocky ſhore, and there is depth of water every where, yet that part is full of ſunken rocks; which, though not viſible, are near enough the ſurface to take up a large ſhip, whoſe deſtruction thereupon becomes inevitable. This I preſume ariſes from one cauſe. The mountains on the ſide of Egypt and Abyſſinia are all (as we have ſtated) hard ſtone, Porphyry, Granite, Alabaſter, Baſaltes, and many ſorts of Marble. Theſe are all therefore fixed, and even to the northward of lat 16°, where there is no rain, very ſmall quantities of duſt or ſand can ever be blown from them into the ſea. On the oppoſite, or Arabian ſide, the ſea-coaſt of the Hejaz, and that of the Tehama, are all moving ſands; and the dry winter-monſoon from the ſouth-eaſt blows a large quantity from the deſerts, which is lodged among the rocks on the Arabian ſide of the Gulf, and confined there by the north-eaſt or ſummer-monſoon, which is in a contrary direction, and hinders them from coming over, or circulating towards the Egyptian ſide.

From this it happens, that the weſt, or Abyſſinian ſide, is full of deep water, interſperſed with ſunken rocks, unmaſked, or uncovered with ſand, with which they would otherwiſe become iſlands. Theſe are naked and bare all round, and ſharp like points of ſpears; while on the eaſt-ſide there are rocks, indeed, as in the other, but being between the ſouth-eaſt monſoon, which drives the ſand into its coaſt, and the

north-weſt monſoon which repels it, and keeps it in there, every rock on the Arabian ſhore becomes an *ſland*, and every two or three iſlands become a harbour.

Upon the ends of the principal of theſe harbours large heaps of ſtones have been piled up, to ſerve as ſignals, or marks, how to enter; and it is in theſe that the large veſſels from Cairo to Jidda, equal in ſize to our 74 gun ſhips, (but from the ciſterns of maſon-work built within for holding water, I ſuppoſe double their weight) after navigating their portion of the channel in the day, come ſafely and quietly to, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and in theſe little harbours paſs the night, to ſail into the channel again, next morning at ſun-riſe.

Therefore, though in the track of my voyage to Tor, I am ſeen running from the weſt ſide of Jibbel Zeit a W. N. W. courſe (for I had no place for a compaſs) into the harbour of Tor, I do not mean to do ſo bad a ſervice to humanity as to perſuade large ſhips to follow my track. There are two ways of inſtructing men uſefully, in things abſolutely unknown to them. The firſt is, to teach them what they can do ſafely. The next is, to teach them what they cannot do at all, or, warranted by a preſſing occaſion, attempt with more or leſs danger, which ſhould be explained and placed before their eyes, for without this laſt no man knows the extent of his own powers. With this view, I will venture, without fear of contradiction, to ſay, that my courſe from Coſſeir, or even from Jibbel Siberget, to Tor, is impoſſible to a great ſhip. My voyage, painful, full of care, and dangerous as it was, is not to be accounted a ſurety for the lives of thouſands. It may be regarded as a foundation for ſurveys hereafter to be made by perſons more capable, and better protected;

protected; and in this case will, I hope, be found a valuable fragment, because, whatever have been my conscientious fears of running servants, who work for pay, into danger of losing their lives by peril of the sea, yet I can safely say, that never did the face of man, or fear of danger to myself, deter me from verifying with my eyes, what my own hands have put upon paper.

In the days of the Ptolemies, and, as I shall shew, long before, the west coast of the Red Sea, where the deepest water, and most dangerous rocks are, was the track which the Indian and African ships chose, when loaded with the richest merchandise that ever vessels since carried. The Ptolemies built a number of large cities on this coast; nor do we hear that ships were obliged to abandon that track, from the disasters that befel them in the navigation. On the contrary, they avoided the coast of Arabia; and one reason, among others, is plain why they should;---they were loaded with the most valuable commodities, gold, ivory, gums, and precious stones; room for stowage on board therefore was very valuable.

Part of this trade, when at its greatest perfection, was carried on in vessels with oars. We know from the prophet Ezekiel*, 700 years before Christ, or 300 after Solomon had finished his trade with Africa and India, that they did not always make use of sails in the track of the monsoons; and consequently a great number of men must have been necessary

* Ezek. chap. xxvii. 6th and 29th verses.

ſary for ſo tedious a voyage. A number of men being neceſſary, a quantity of water was equally ſo; and this muſt have taken up a great deal of ſtowage. Now, no where on the coaſt of Abyſſinia could they want water two days; and ſcarce any where, on the coaſt of Arabia, could they be ſure of it once in fifteen, and from this the weſtern coaſt was called *Ber el Ajam**, corruptly Azamia, *the country of water*, in oppoſition to the eaſtern ſhore, called *Ber el Arab*, where there was none.

A DELIBERATE ſurvey became abſolutely neceſſary, and as in proportion to the danger of the coaſt pilots became more ſkilful, when once they had obtained more complete knowledge of the rocks and dangers, they preferred the boldeſt ſhore, becauſe they could ſtand on all night, and provide themſelves with water every day. Whereas, on the Arabian ſide, they could not ſail but half the day, would be obliged to lie to all night, and to load themſelves with water, equal to half their cargo.

I NOW ſhall undertake to point out to large ſhips, the way by which they can ſafely enter the Gulf of Suez, ſo as that they may be competent judges of their own courſe, in caſe of accident, without implicitly ſurrendering themſelves, and property, into the hands of pilots.

IN the firſt place, then, I am very confident, that, taking their departure from Jibbel el Ourée, ſhips may ſafely ſtand on

* Ajan, in the language of Shepherds, ſignifies *rain-water*.

on all night mid-channel, until they are in the latitude of Yambo.

The Red Sea may be divided into four parts, of which the Channel occupies two, till about lat. 26°, or nearly that of Coſſeir. On the weſt ſide it is deep water, with many rocks, as I have already ſaid. On the eaſt ſide, that quarter is occupied by iſlands, that is, ſand gathered about the rocks, the cauſes whereof I have before mentioned; between which there are channels of very deep water, and harbours, that protect the largeſt ſhips in any winds. But among theſe, from Mocha down to Suez, you muſt ſail with a pilot, and during part of the day only.

To a perſon uſed to more civilized countries, it appears no great hardſhip to ſail with a pilot, if you can get one, and in the Red Sea there are plenty; but theſe are creatures without any ſort of ſcience, who decide upon a manœuvre in a moment, without forethought, or any warning given. Such pilots often, in a large ſhip deeply loaded, with every ſail out which ſhe can carry, in a very inſtant cry out to let go your anchors, and bring you to, all ſtanding, in the face of a rock, or ſand. Were not our ſeamen's vigour, and celerity in execution, infinitely beyond the ſkill and foreſight of thoſe pilots, I believe very few ſhips, coming the inward paſſage among the iſlands, would ever reach the port in ſafety.

If you are, however, going to Suez, without the conſent of the Sherriffe of Mecca, that is, not intending to ſell your cargo at Jidda, or pay your cuſtom there, then you ſhould take

take in your water at Mocha; or, if any reaſon ſhould hinder you from touching that ſhore, a few hours will carry you to Azab, or Saba, on the Abyſſinian coaſt, whoſe latitude I found to be 13° 5′ north. It is not a port, but a very tolerable road, where you have very ſafe riding, under the ſhelter of a low deſert iſland called Crab Iſland, with a few rocks at the end of it. But it muſt be remembered, the people are *Galla*, the moſt treacherous and villanous wretches upon the earth. They are *Shepherds*, who ſometimes are on the coaſt in great numbers, or in the back of the hills that run cloſe along the ſhore, or in miſerable villages compoſed of huts, that run nearly in an eaſt and weſt direction from Azab to Raheeta, the largeſt of all their villages. You will there, at Azab, get plenty of water, ſheep, and goats, as alſo ſome myrrh and incenſe, if you are in the proper ſeaſon, or will ſtay for it.

I AGAIN repeat it, that no confidence is to be had in the people. Thoſe of Mocha, who even are abſolutely neceſſary to them in their commercial tranſactions, cannot truſt them without ſurety or hoſtages. And it was but a few years before I was there, the ſurgeon and mate of the Elgin Eaſt-India man, with ſeveral other ſailors, were cut off, going on ſhore with a letter of ſafe conduct from their Shekh to purchaſe myrrh. Thoſe that were in the boat eſcaped, but moſt of them were wounded. A ſhip, on its guard, does not fear banditti like theſe, and you will get plenty of water and proviſion, though I am only ſpeaking of it as a ſtation of neceſſity.

IF you are not afraid of being known, there is a low black iſland on the Arabian coaſt called Camaran, it is in

lat. 15° 39′, and is diſtinguiſhed by a white houſe, or fortreſs, on the weſt end of it, where you will procure excellent water, in greater plenty than at Azab; but no proviſions, or only ſuch as are very bad. If you ſhould not wiſh to be ſeen, however, on the coaſt at all, among the chain of iſlands that reaches almoſt acroſs the Gulf from Loheia to Maſuah, there is one called Fooſht, where there is good anchorage; it is laid down in my map in lat. 15° 59′ 43″ N. and long. 42° 27′ E. from actual obſervation taken upon the iſland. There is here a quantity of excellent water, with a ſaint or monk to take care of it, and keep the wells clean. This poor creature was ſo terrified at ſeeing us come aſhore with fire-arms, that he lay down upon his face on the ſand; nor would he riſe, or lift up his head, till the Rais had explained to me the cauſe of his fear, and till, knowing I was not in any danger of ſurpriſe, I had ſent my guns on board.

From this to Yambo there is no ſafe watering place. Indeed if the river Frat were to be found, there is no need of any other watering place in the Gulf; but it is abſolutely neceſſary to have a pilot on board before you make Ras Mahomet; becauſe, over the mountains of Auche, the Elanitic Gulf, and the Cape itſelf, there is often a great haze, which laſts for many days together, and many ſhips are conſtantly loſt, by miſtaking the Eaſtern Bay, or Elanitic Gulf, for the entrance of the Gulf of Suez; the former has a reef of rocks nearly acroſs it.

After you have made Sheduan, a large iſland three leagues farther, in a direction nearly north and by weſt, is a bare rock, which, according to their uſual careleſsneſs and indifference, they are not at the pains to call by any other name.

name but *Jibbel*, the rock, iſland, or mountain, in general. You ſhould not come within three full leagues of that rock, but leave it at a diſtance to the weſtward. You will then ſee ſhoals, which form a pretty broad channel, where you have ſoundings from fifteen to thirty fathoms. And again, ſtanding on directly upon Tor, you have two other oval ſands with ſunken rocks, in the channel, between which you are to ſteer. All your danger is here in ſight, for you might go in the inſide, or to the eaſtward, of the many ſmall iſlands you ſee toward the ſhore; and there are the anchoring places of the Cairo veſſels, which are marked with the black anchor in the draught. This is the courſe beſt known and practiſed by pilots for ſhips of all ſizes. But by a draught of Mr Niebuhr, who went from Suez with Mahomet Rais Tobal, his track with that large ſhip was through the channels, till he arrived at the point, where Tor bore a little to the northward of eaſt of him.

Tor may be known at a diſtance by two hills that ſtand near the water ſide, which, in clear weather, may be ſeen ſix leagues off. Juſt to the ſouth-eaſt of theſe is the town and harbour, where there are ſome palm-trees about the houſes, the more remarkable, that they are the firſt you ſee on the coaſt. There is no danger in going into Tor harbour, the ſoundings in the way are clean and regular; and by giving the beacon a ſmall birth on the larboard hand, you may haul in a little to the northward, and anchor in five or ſix fathom. The bottom of the bay is not a mile from the beacon, and about the ſame diſtance from the oppoſite ſhore. There is no ſenſible tide in the middle of the Gulf, but, by the ſides, it runs full two knots an hour. At ſprings, it is high water at Tor nearly at twelve o'clock.

On the 9th we arrived at Tor, a ſmall ſtraggling village, with a convent of Greek Monks, belonging to Mount Sinai. Don John de Caſtro * took this town when it was walled, and fortified, ſoon after the diſcovery of the Indies by the Portugueſe; it has never ſince been of any conſideration. It ſerves now, only as a watering-place for ſhips going to, and from Suez. From this we have a diſtinct view of the points of the mountains Horeb and Sinai, which appear behind and above the others, their tops being often covered with ſnow in winter.

There are three things, (now I am at the north end of the Arabian Gulf,) of which the reader will expect ſome account, and I am heartily ſorry to ſay, that I fear I ſhall be obliged to diſappoint him in all, by the unſatisfactory relation I am forced to give.

The firſt is, Whether the Red Sea is not higher than the Mediterranean, by ſeveral feet or inches? To this I anſwer, That the fact has been ſuppoſed to be ſo by antiquity, and alledged as a reaſon why Ptolemy's canal was made from the bottom of the Heroopolitic Gulf, rather than brought due north acroſs the Iſthmus of Suez; in which laſt caſe, it was feared it would ſubmerge a great part of Aſia Minor. But who has ever attempted to verify this by experiment? or who is capable of ſettling the difference of levels, amounting, as ſuppoſed, to ſome feet and inches, between two points 120 miles diſtant from each other, over a deſert that has no ſettled ſurface, but is changing its height every day?

* Vide his Journal publiſhed by Abbé Vertot.

day? Beſides, ſince all ſeas are, in fact, but one, what is it that hinders the Indian Ocean to flow to its level? What is it that keeps the Indian Ocean up?

Till this laſt branch of the queſtion is reſolved, I ſhall take it for granted that no ſuch difference of level exiſts, whatever Ptolemy's engineers might have pretended to him; becauſe, to ſuppoſe it fact, is to ſuppoſe the violation of one very material law of nature.

The next thing I have to take notice of, for the ſatisfaction of my reader, is, the way by which the children of Iſrael paſſed the Red Sea at the time of their deliverance from the land of Egypt.

As ſcripture teaches us, that this paſſage, wherever it might be, was under the influence of a miraculous power, no particular circumſtance of breadth, or depth, makes one place likelier than another. It is a matter of mere curioſity, and can only promote an illuſtration of the ſcripture, for which reaſon, I do not decline the conſideration of it.

I shall ſuppoſe, that my reader has been ſufficiently convinced, by other authors, that the land of Goſhen, where the Iſraelites dwelt in Egypt, was that country lying eaſt of the Nile, and not overflowed by it, bounded by the mountains of the Thebaid on the ſouth, by the Nile and Mediterranean on the weſt and north, and the Red Sea and deſert of Arabia on the eaſt. It was the Heliopolitan nome, its capital was *On;* from predilection of the letter O, common to the Hebrews, they called it Goſhen; but its proper name was *Geſhen*, the country of Graſs, or Paſturage; or of the

the *Shepherds;* in oppoſition to the reſt of the land which was ſown, after having been overflowed by the Nile.

THERE were three ways by which the children of Iſrael, flying from Pharaoh, could have entered Paleſtine. The firſt was by the ſea-coaſt by Gaza, Aſkelon, and Joppa. This was the plaineſt and neareſt way; and, therefore, fitteſt for people incumbered with kneading troughs, dough, cattle, and children. The ſea-coaſt was full of rich commercial cities, the mid-land was cultivated and ſown with grain. The eaſtern part, neareſt the mountains, was full of cattle and ſhepherds, as rich a country, and more powerful than the cities themſelves.

THIS narrow valley, between the mountains and the ſea, ran all along the eaſtern ſhore of the Mediterranean, from Gaza northward, comprehending the low part of Paleſtine and Syria. Now, here a ſmall number of men might have paſſed, under the laws of hoſpitality; nay, they did conſtantly paſs, it being the high road between Egypt, and Tyre, and Sidon. But the caſe was different with a multitude, ſuch as ſix hundred thouſand men having their cattle along with them. Theſe muſt have occupied the whole land of the Philiſtines, deſtroyed all private property, and undoubtedly have occaſioned ſome revolution; and as they were not now intended to be put in poſſeſſion of the land of promiſe, the meaſure of the iniquity of the nations being not yet full, God turned them aſide from going that way, though the neareſt, leaſt they "ſhould ſee war*," that

2 is,

* Gen. chap. xiii. ver. 17th.

is, leaſt the people ſhould riſe againſt them, and deſtroy them.

THERE was another way which led ſouth-weſt, upon Beerſheba and Hebron, in the middle, between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. This was the direction in which Abraham, Lot, and Jacob, are ſuppoſed to have reached Egypt. But there was neither food nor water there to ſuſtain the Iſraelites. When Abraham and Lot returned out of Egypt, they were obliged to ſeparate by conſent, becauſe Abraham ſaid to his brother, "The land will not bear us both*."

THE third way was ſtraight eaſt into Arabia, pretty much the road by which the Pilgrims go at this day to Mecca, and the caravans from Suez to Cairo. In this track they would have gone round by the mountains of Moab, eaſt of the Dead Sea, and paſſed Jordan in the plain oppoſite to Jericho, as they did forty years afterwards. But it is plain from ſcripture, that God's counſels were to make Pharaoh and his Egyptians an example of his vengeance; and, as none of theſe roads led to the ſea, they did not anſwer the Divine intention.

ABOUT twelve leagues from the ſea, there was a narrow road which turned to the right, between the mountains, through a valley called *Badeah*, where their courſe was nearly ſouth-eaſt; this valley ended in a paſs, between two conſiderable mountains, called *Gewoube* on the ſouth; and Jibbel Attakah on the north, and opened into the low ſtripe of country

* Gen. chap. xiii. ver. 6th. Exod. chap. xiii. ver. 17th.

country which runs all along the Red Sea; and the Iſraelites were ordered to encamp at Pihahiroth, oppoſite to Baal-zephon, between Migdol and that ſea.

It will be neceſſary to explain theſe names. *Badeah*, Dr Shaw interprets, *the Valley of the Miracle*, but this is forcing an etymology, for there was yet no miracle wrought, nor was there ever any in the valley. But *Badeah*, means *barren*, *bare*, and *uninhabited;* ſuch as we may imagine a valley between ſtony mountains, a deſert valley. *Jibbel Attakah*, he tranſlates alſo, *the Mountain of Deliverance.* But ſo far were the Iſraelites from being delivered on their arrival at this mountain, that they were then in the greateſt diſtreſs and danger. *Attakah*, means, however, to *arrive* or *come up with*, either becauſe there they arrived within ſight of the Red Sea; or, as I am rather inclined to think, this place took its name from the arrival of Pharaoh, or his coming in ſight of the Iſraelites, when encamped between Migdol and the Red Sea.

Pihahiroth is the mouth of the valley, opening to the flat country and the ſea, as I have already ſaid, ſuch are called *Mouths;* in the Arabic, *Fum;* as I have obſerved in my journey to Coſſeir, where the opening of the valley is called Fum el Beder, *the mouth of Beder;* Fum el Terfowey, *the mouth of Terfowey.* Hhoreth, the flat country along the Red Sea, is ſo called from *Hhor*, a narrow valley where torrents run, occaſioned by ſudden irregular ſhowers. Such we have already deſcribed on the eaſt ſide of the mountains, bordering upon that narrow flat country along the Red Sea, where temporary ſhowers fall in great abundance, while none of them touch the weſt ſide of the mountains or valley of Egypt.

Egypt. Pihahiroth then is the mouth of the valley Badeah; which opens to Hhoreth, the narrow ſtripe of land where ſhowers fall.

Baal-Zephon, the God of the watch-tower, was, probably, ſome idol's temple, which ſerved for a ſignal-houſe upon the Cape which forms the north entrance of the bay oppoſite to Jibbel Attakah, where there is ſtill a moſque, or ſaint's tomb. It was probably a light-houſe, for the direction of ſhips going to the bottom of the Gulf, to prevent miſtaking it for another foul bay, under the high land, where there is alſo a tomb of a ſaint called Abou Derage.

The laſt rebuke God gave to Pharaoh, by ſlaying all the firſt-born, ſeems to have made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Egyptians. Scripture ſays, that the people were now urgent with the Iſraelites to be gone, for they ſaid, "We be all dead men *." And we need not doubt; it was in order to keep up in their hearts a motive of reſentment, ſtrong enough to make them purſue the Iſraelites, that God cauſed the Iſraelites to borrow, and take away the jewels of the Egyptians; without ſome new cauſe of anger, the late terrible chaſtiſement might have deterred them. While, therefore, they journeyed eaſtward towards the deſert, the Egyptians had no motive to attack them, becauſe they went with permiſſion there to ſacrifice, and were on their return to reſtore them their moveables. But when the Iſraelites were obſerved turning to the ſouth, among the mountains, they

* Exod. ch. xii. 33.

were then ſuppoſed to flee without a view of returning, becauſe they had left the way of the deſert; and therefore Pharaoh, that he might induce the Egyptians to follow them, tells them that the Iſraelites were now entangled among the mountains, and the wilderneſs behind them, which was really the caſe, when they encamped at Pihahiroth, before, or ſouth of Baal-Zephon, between Migdol and the ſea. Here, then, before Migdol, the ſea was divided, and they paſſed over dry ſhod to the wilderneſs of Shur, which was immediately oppoſite to them; a ſpace ſomething leſs than four leagues, and ſo eaſily accompliſhed in one night, without any miraculous interpoſition.

THREE days they were without water, which would bring them to Korondel, where is a ſpring of brackiſh, or bitter water, to this day, which probably were the *waters of Marah* *.

THE natives ſtill call this part of the ſea Bahar Kolzum, or the Sea of Deſtruction; and juſt oppoſite to Pihahiroth is a bay, where the North Cape is called Ras Muſa, or the Cape of Moſes, even now. Theſe are the reaſons why I believe the paſſage of the Iſraelites to have been in this direction. There is about fourteen fathom of water in the channel, and about nine in the ſides, and good anchorage every where; the fartheſt ſide is a low ſandy coaſt, and a very eaſy landing-place. The draught of the bottom of the Gulf given by Doctor Pococke is very erroneous, in every part of it.

IT was propoſed to Mr Niebuhr, when in Egypt, to inquire, upon the ſpot, Whether there were not ſome ridges of

* Such is the tradition among the Natives.

of rocks, where the water was ſhallow, ſo that an army at particular times might paſs over? Secondly, Whether the Eteſian winds, which blow ſtrongly all Summer from the north weſt, could not blow ſo violently againſt the ſea, as to keep it back on a heap, ſo that the Iſraelites might have paſſed without a miracle? And a copy of theſe queries was left for me, to join my inquiries likewiſe.

But I muſt confeſs, however learned the gentlemen were who propoſed theſe doubts, I did not think they merited any attention to ſolve them. This paſſage is told us, by ſcripture, to be a miraculous one; and, if ſo, we have nothing to do with natural cauſes. If we do not believe Moſes, we need not believe the tranſaction at all, ſeeing that it is from his authority alone we derive it. If we believe in God that he made the ſea, we muſt believe he could divide it when he ſees proper reaſon, and of that he muſt be the only judge. It is no greater miracle to divide the Red Sea, than to divide the river of Jordan.

If the Eteſian wind blowing from the north-weſt in ſummer, could heap up the ſea as a wall, on the right, or to the ſouth, of fifty feet high, ſtill the difficulty would remain, of building the wall on the left hand, or to the north. Beſides, water ſtanding in that poſition for a day, muſt have loſt the nature of fluid. Whence came that coheſion of particles, that hindered that wall to eſcape at the ſides? This is as great a miracle as that of Moſes. If the Eteſian winds had done this once, they muſt have repeated it many a time before and ſince, from the ſame cauſes. Yet, * Diodorus

* Diod. Sic. Lib. 3. p. 122.

dorus Siculus ſays, the Troglodytes, the indigenous inhabitants of that very ſpot, had a tradition from father to ſon, from their very earlieſt and remoteſt ages, that once this diviſion of the ſea did happen there, and that after leaving its bottom ſometimes dry, the ſea again came back, and covered it with great fury. The words of this author are of the moſt remarkable kind. We cannot think this heathen is writing in favour of revelation. He knew not Moſes, nor ſays a word about Pharaoh, and his hoſt; but records the miracle of the diviſion of the ſea, in words nearly as ſtrong as thoſe of Moſes, from the mouths of unbiaſſed, undeſigning Pagans.

Were all theſe difficulties ſurmounted, what could we do with the pillar of fire? The anſwer is, We ſhould not believe it. Why then believe the paſſage at all? We have no authority for the one, but what is for the other; it is altogether contrary to the ordinary nature of things, and if not a miracle, it muſt be a fable.

The cauſe of the ſeveral names of the Red Sea, is a ſubject of more liberal inquiry. I am of opinion, that it certainly derived its name from Edom, long and early its powerful maſter, that word ſignifying Red in Hebrew. It formerly went by the name of Sea of Edom, or Idumea; ſince, by that of the Red Sea.

It has been obſerved, indeed, that not only the Arabian Gulf, but part of the Indian Ocean *, went by this name, though

* Dionyſii Periegeſis, v. 38. et Comment. Euſtathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 765. Agathemeri Geographia, lib. ii. cap. 11.

though far diſtant from Idumea. This is true, but when we conſider, as we ſhall do in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the maſters of that ſea were ſtill the Edomites, who went from the one ſea directly in the ſame voyage to the other, we ſhall not diſpute the propriety of extending the name to part of the Indian Ocean alſo. As for what fanciful people* have ſaid of any redneſs in the ſea itſelf, or colour in the bottom, the reader may aſſure himſelf all this is fiction, the Red Sea being in colour nothing different from the Indian, or any other Ocean.

THERE is greater difficulty in aſſigning a reaſon for the Hebrew name, Yam Suph; properly ſo called, ſay learned authors, from the quantity of weeds in it. But I muſt confeſs, in contradiction to this, that I never in my life, (and I have ſeen the whole extent of it) ſaw a weed of any ſort in it; and, indeed, upon the ſlighteſt conſideration, it will occur to any one, that a narrow gulf, under the immediate influence of monſoons, blowing from contrary points ſix months each year, would have too much agitation to produce ſuch vegetables, ſeldom found, but in ſtagnant waters, and ſeldomer, if ever, found in ſalt ones. My opinion then is, that it is from the † large trees, or plants of white coral, ſpread every where over the bottom of the Red Sea, perfectly in imitation of plants on land, that the ſea has obtained this name. If not, I fairly confeſs I have not any other conjecture to make.

No

* *Jerome Lobo*, the greateſt liar of the Jeſuits, ch. iv. p. 46. Engliſh tranſlation.

† I ſaw one of theſe, which, from a root nearly central, threw out ramifications in a nearly circular form, meaſuring twenty-ſix feet diameter every way.

No ſea, or ſhores, I believe, in the world, abound more in ſubjects of Natural Hiſtory than the Red Sea. I ſuppoſe I have drawings and ſubjects of this kind, equal in bulk to the journal of the whole voyage itſelf. But the vaſt expence in engraving, as well as other conſiderations, will probably hinder for ever the perfection of this work in this particular.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Sail from Tor—Paſs the Elanitic Gulf—See Raddua—Arrive at Yambo—Incidents there—Arrive at Jidda.

OUR Rais, having diſpatched his buſineſs, was eager to depart; and, accordingly, on the 11th of April, at day-break, we ſtood out of the harbour of Tor. At firſt, we were becalmed in, at the point of the Bay ſouth of Tor town, but the wind freſhening about eight o'clock, we ſtood through the channels of the firſt four ſhoals, and then between a ſmaller one. We made the mouth of a ſmall Bay, formed by Cape Mahomet, and a low ſandy point to the eaſtward of it. Our veſſel ſeemed to be a capital one for ſailing, and I did every thing in my power to keep our Rais in good humour.

ABOUT half a mile from the ſandy point, we ſtruck upon a coral bank, which, though it was not of any great conſiſtence or ſolidity, did not fail to make our maſt nod. As I was looking out forward when the veſſel touched, and the Rais by me, I cried out in Arabic, "Get out of the way you dog!" the Rais, thinking my diſcourſe directed to him, ſeemed very much ſurpriſed, and aſked, "what I meant?"

" Why did you not tell me, ſaid I, when I hired you, that all the rocks in the ſea would get out of the way of your veſſel? This ill-mannered fellow here did not *know his duty*; he was ſleeping I ſuppoſe, and has given us a hearty jolt, and I was abuſing him for it, till you ſhould chaſtiſe him ſome other way." He ſhook his head, and ſaid, " Well! you do not believe, but God knows the truth; well now where is the rock? Why he is gone." However, very prudently, he anchored ſoon afterwards, though we had received no damage.

At night, by an obſervation of two ſtars in the meridian, I concluded the latitude of Cape Mahomet to be 27° 54′, N. It muſt be underſtood of the mountain, or high land, which forms the Cape, not the low point. The ridge of rocks that run along behind Tor, bound that low ſandy country, called the Deſert of Sin, to the eaſtward, and end in this Cape, which is the high land obſerved at ſea; but the lower part, or ſouthermoſt extreme of the Cape, runs about three leagues off from the high land, and is ſo low, that it cannot be ſeen from deck above three leagues. It was called, by the ancients, Pharan Promontorium; not becauſe there was a light-houſe * upon the end of it, (though this may have perhaps been the caſe, and a very neceſſary and proper ſituation it is) but from the Egyptian and Arabic word Farek †, which ſignifies to divide, as being the point, or high land that divides the Gulf of Suez from the Elanitic Gulf.

I WENT

* Anciently called Pharos.

† The Koran is, therefore, called *El Furkan*, or the Divider, or Diſtinguiſher between true faith and hereſy.

I WENT aſhore here to gather ſhells, and ſhot a ſmall animal among the rocks, called Daman Iſrael, or Iſrael's Lamb; I do not know why, for it has no reſemblance to the ſheep kind. I take it to be the ſaphan of the Hebrew Scripture, which we tranſlate by the coney. I have given a drawing, and deſcription of it, in its proper place *. I ſhot, likewiſe, ſeveral dozens of gooto, the leaſt beautiful of the kind I had ſeen, being very ſmall, and coloured like the back of a partridge, but very indifferent food.

THE 12th, we ſailed from Cape Mahomet, juſt as the ſun appeared. We paſſed the iſland of Tyrone, in the mouth of the Elanitic Gulf, which divides it near equally into two; or, rather the north-weſt ſide is narroweſt. The direction of the Gulf is nearly north and ſouth. I judge it to be about ſix leagues over. Many of the Cairo ſhips are loſt in miſtaking the entry of the Elanitic for that of the Heroopolitic Gulf, or Gulf of Suez; for, from the iſland of Tyrone, which is not above two leagues from the Main, there runs a ſtring of iſlands, which ſeem to make a ſemicircular bar acroſs the entry from the point, where a ſhip, going with a ſouth wind, would take its departure; and this range of iſlands ends in a ſhoal with ſunken rocks, which reaches near five leagues from the Main. It is probable, that, upon theſe iſlands, the fleet of Rehoboam periſhed, when ſailing for the expedition of Ophir †.

* See the article Aſhkoko in the Appendix. † 2 Chron. chap. xx. ver. 37th.

I TAKE Tyrone to be the iſland of Saſpirene of Ptolemy, though this geographer has erred a little, both in its latitude and longitude.

WE paſſed the ſecond of theſe iſlands, called Senaffer, about three leagues to the northward, ſteering with a freſh gale at ſouth-eaſt, upon a triangular iſland that has three pointed eminences upon its ſouth-ſide. We paſſed another ſmall iſland which has no name, about the ſame diſtance as the former; and ranged along three black rocks, the ſouth-weſt of the iſland, called *Sufange el Bahar*, or the *Sea-Spunge*. As our veſſel made ſome water, and the wind had been very ſtrong all the afternoon, the Rais wanted to bring up to the leeward of this iſland, or between this, and a cape of land called *Ras Selah;* but, not being able to find ſoundings here, he ſet ſail again, doubled the point, and came to anchor under the ſouth cape of a fine bay, which is a ſtation of the Emir Hadje, called *Kalaat el Moilah*, the Caſtle, or Station of Water.

WE had ſailed this day about twenty-one leagues; and, as we had very fair and fine weather, and were under no ſort of concern whatever, I could not neglect attending to the diſpoſition of theſe iſlands, in a very ſplendid map lately publiſhed. They are carried too far into the Gulf.

THE 13th, the Rais having, in the night, remedied what was faulty in his veſſel, ſet ſail about ſeven o'clock in the morning. We paſſed a conical hill on the land, called Abou Jubbé, where is the ſepulchre of a ſaint of that name. The mountains here are at a conſiderable diſtance; and nothing can be more deſolate and bare than the coaſt. In the

the afternoon, we came to an anchor at a place called Kella Clarega, after having paſſed an iſland called Jibbel Numan, about a league from the ſhore. By the ſide of this ſhoal we caught a quantity of good fiſh, and a great number alſo very beautiful, and perfectly unknown, but which, when roaſted, ſhrank away to nothing except ſkin, and when boiled, diſſolved into a kind of blueiſh glue.

On the 14th, the wind was variable till near ten o'clock, after which it became a little fair. At twelve it was as favourable as we could wiſh; it blew however but faintly. We paſſed firſt by one iſland ſurrounded by breakers, and then by three more, and anchored cloſe to the ſhore, at a place called Jibbel Shekh, or the Mountain of the Saint. Here I reſolved to take a walk on ſhore to ſtretch my limbs, and ſee if I could procure any game, to afford us ſome variety of food. I had my gun loaded with ball, when a vaſt flock of gooto got up before me, not five hundred yards from the ſhore. As they lighted very near me, I lay down among the bent graſs, to draw the charge, and load with ſmall ſhot. While I was doing this, I ſaw two antelopes, which, by their manner of walking and feeding, did not ſeem to be frightened. I returned my balls into the gun, and reſolved to be cloſe among the bent, till they ſhould appear before me.

I had been quiet for ſome minutes, when I heard behind me ſomething like a perſon breathing, on which I turned about, and, not without great ſurpriſe, and ſome little fear, ſaw a man, ſtanding juſt over me. I ſtarted up, while the man, who had a little ſtick only in his hand, ran two or three ſteps backwards, and then ſtood. He was almoſt per-

fectly naked: he had half a yard of coarſe rag only wrapt round his middle, and a crooked knife ſtuck in it. I aſked him who he was? He ſaid he was an Arab belonging to Shekh Abd el Macaber. I then deſired to know where his maſter was? He replied, he was at the hill a little above, with camels that were going to Yambo. He then, in his turn, aſked who I was? I told him I was an Abyſſinian ſlave of the Sherriffe of Mecca, was going to Cairo by ſea, but wiſhed much to ſpeak to his maſter, if he would go and bring him. The ſavage went away with great willingneſs, and he no ſooner diſappeared, than I ſet out as quickly as poſſible to the boat, and we got her hauled out beyond the ſhoals, where we paſſed the night. We ſaw afterwards diſtinctly about fifty men, and three or four camels; the men made ſeveral ſigns to us, but we were perfectly content with the diſtance that was between us, and ſought no more to kill antelopes in the neighbourhood of Sidi Abd el Macaber.

I WOULD not have it imagined, that my caſe was abſolutely deſperate, even if I had been known as a Chriſtian, and fallen into the hands of theſe Arabs, of Arabia Deſerta, or Arabia Petrea, ſuppoſed to be the moſt barbarous people in the world, as indeed they probably are. Hoſpitality, and attention to one's word, ſeem in theſe countries to be in proportion to the degree in which the people are ſavage. A very eaſy method is known, and followed with conſtant ſucceſs, by all the Chriſtians trading to the Red Sea from Suez to Jidda, to ſave themſelves if thrown on the coaſt of Arabia. Any man of conſideration from any tribe among the Arabs, comes to Cairo, gives his name and deſignation to the Chriſtian ſailor, and receives a very ſmall preſent, which is repeated

peated annually if he performs ſo often the voyage. And for this the Arab promiſes the Chriſtian his protection, ſhould he ever be ſo unfortunate as to be ſhipwrecked on their coaſt.

The Turks are very bad ſeamen, and loſe many ſhips, the greateſt part of the crew are therefore Chriſtians; when a veſſel ſtrikes, or is aſhore, the Turks are all maſſacred if they cannot make their way good by force; but the Chriſtians preſent themſelves to the Arab, crying *Fiarduc*, which means, 'we are under immediate protection.' If they are aſked, who is their Gaffeer, or Arab, with whom they are in friendſhip? They anſwer, Mahomet Abdelcader is our Gaffeer, or any other. If he is not there, you are told he is abſent ſo many days journey off, or any diſtance. This acquaintance or neighbour, then helps you, to ſave what you have from the wreck, and one of them with his lance draws a circle, large enough to hold you and yours. He then ſticks his lance in the ſand, bids you abide within that circle, and goes and brings your Gaffeer, with what camels you want, and this Gaffeer is obliged, by rules known only to themſelves, to carry you for nothing, or very little, whereever you go, and to furniſh you with proviſions all the way. Within that circle you are as ſafe on the deſert coaſt of Arabia, as in a citadel; there is no example or exception to the contrary that has ever yet been known. There are many Arabs, who, from ſituation, near dangerous ſhoals or places, where ſhips often periſh (as between Ras Mahomet and Ras Selah, *Dar el Hamra, and ſome others) have perhaps fifty or

*See the Map.

or a hundred Chriſtians, who have been ſo protected: So that when this Arab marries a daughter, he gives perhaps his revenue from four or five protected Chriſtians, as part of his daughter's portion. I had, at that very time, a Gafeer, called Ibn Talil, an Arab of Harb tribe, and I ſhould have been detained perhaps three days till he came from near Medina, and carried me (had I been ſhipwrecked) to Yambo, where I was going.

On the 15th we came to an anchor at El Har*, where we ſaw high, craggy, and broken mountains, called the Mountains of Ruddua. Theſe abound with ſprings of water; all ſort of Arabian and African fruits grow here in perfection, and every kind of vegetable that they will take the pains to cultivate. It is the paradiſe of the people of Yambo; thoſe of any ſubſtance have country houſes there; but, ſtrange to tell, they ſtay there but for a ſhort time, and prefer the bare, dry, and burning ſands about Yambo, to one of the fineſt climates, and moſt verdant pleaſant countries, that exiſts in the world. The people of the place have told me, that water freezes there in winter, and that there are ſome of the inhabitants who have red hair, and blue eyes, a thing ſcarcely ever ſeen but in the coldeſt mountains in the Eaſt.

The 16th, about ten o'clock, we paſſed a moſque, or Shekh's tomb on the main land, on our left hand, called Kubbet Yambo, and before eleven we anchored in the mouth of

* El Har ſignifies extreme heat.

of the port in deep water. Yambo, corruptly called Imbo, is an ancient city, now dwindled to a paultry village. Ptolemy calls it Iambia Vicus, or the village Yambia; a proof it was of no great importance in his time. But after the conqueſt of Egypt under Sultan Selim, it became a valuable ſtation, for ſupplying their conqueſts in Arabia, with warlike ſtores, from Suez, and for the importation of wheat from Egypt to their garriſons, and the holy places of Mecca and Medina. On this account, a large caſtle was built there by Sinan Baſha; for the ancient Yambo of Ptolemy is not that which is called ſo at this day. It is ſix miles farther ſouth; and is called Yambo el Nachel, or, Yambo among the palm-trees,' a great quantity of ground being there covered with this ſort of plantation.

YAMBO, in the language of the country, ſignifies a fountain or ſpring, a very copious one of excellent water being found there among the date trees, and it is one of the ſtations of the Emir Hadje in going to, and coming from Mecca. The advantage of the port, however, which the other has not, and the protection of the caſtle, have carried trading veſſels to the modern Yambo, where there is no water, but what is brought from pools dug on purpoſe to receive the rain when it falls.

THERE are two hundred janiſſaries in the caſtle, the deſcendents of thoſe brought thither by Sinan Baſha; who have ſucceeded their fathers, in the way I have obſerved they did at Syené, and, indeed, in all the conqueſts in Arabia, and Egypt. The inhabitants of Yambo are deſervedly reck-

oned * the moſt barbarous of any upon the Red Sea, and the janiſſaries keep pace with them, in every kind of malice and violence. We did not go aſhore all that day, becauſe we had heard a number of ſhots, and had received intelligence from ſhore, that the janiſſaries and town's people, for a week, had been fighting together; I was very unwilling to interfere, wiſhing that they might have all leiſure to extirpate one another, if poſſible; and my Rais ſeemed moſt heartily to join me in my wiſhes.

In the evening, the captain of the port came on board, and brought two janiſſaries with him, whom, with ſome difficulty, I ſuffered to enter the veſſel. Their firſt demand was gun-powder, which I poſitively refuſed. I then aſked them how many were killed in the eight days they had been engaged? They anſwered, with ſome indifference, not many, about a hundred every day, or a few leſs or more, chiefly Arabs. We heard afterwards, when we came on ſhore, one only had been wounded, and that a ſoldier, by a fall from his horſe. They inſiſted upon bringing the veſſel into the port; but I told them, on the contrary, that having no buſineſs at Yambo, and being by no means under the guns of their caſtle, I was at liberty to put to ſea without coming aſhore at all; therefore, if they did not leave us, as the wind was favourable, I would ſail, and, by force, carry them to Jidda. The janiſſaries began to talk, as their cuſtom is, in a very bluſtering and warlike tone; but I, who knew my intereſt at Jidda, and the force in my own hand; that my veſſel

* Vide Irvine's letters.

veſſel was afloat, and could be under weigh in an inſtant, never was leſs diſpoſed to be bullied, than at that moment. They aſked me a thouſand queſtions, whether I was a Mamaluke, whether I was a Turk, or whether I was an Arab, and why I did not give them ſpirits and tobacco? To all which I anſwered, only, that they ſhould know to-morrow who I was; then I ordered the Emir Bahar, the captain of the port, to carry them aſhore at his peril, or I would take their arms from them, and confine them on board all night.

The Rais gave the captain of the port a private hint, to take care what they did, for they might loſe their lives; and that private caution, underſtood in a different way perhaps than was meant, had effect upon the ſoldiers, to make them withdraw immediately. When they went away, I begged the Emir Bahar to make my compliments to his maſters, Haſſan and Huſſein, Agas, to know what time I ſhould wait upon them to-morrow; and deſired him, in the mean time, to keep his ſoldiers aſhore, as I was not diſpoſed to be troubled with their inſolence.

Soon after they went, we heard a great firing, and ſaw lights all over the town; and the Rais propoſed to me to ſlip immediately, and ſet ſail, from which meaſure I was not at all averſe. But, as he ſaid, we had a better anchoring place under the moſque of the Shekh, and, beſides, that there we would be in a place of ſafety, by reaſon of the holineſs of the ſaint, and that at our own choice might even put to ſea in a moment, or ſtay till to-morrow, as we were in no ſort of doubt of being able to repel, force by force, if attacked, we got under weigh for a few hundred yards,

and dropt our anchor under the ſhrine of one of the greateſt ſaints in the world.

At night the firing had abated, the lights diminiſhed, and the captain of the port again came on board. He was ſurpriſed at miſſing us at our former anchoring place, and ſtill more ſo, when, on our hearing the noiſe of his oars, we hailed, and forbade him to advance any nearer, till he ſhould tell us how many he had on board, or whether he had ſoldiers or not, otherwiſe we ſhould fire upon them: to this he anſwered, that there were only himſelf, his boy, and three officers, ſervants to the Aga. I replied, that three ſtrangers were too many at that time of the night, but, ſince they were come from the Aga, they might advance.

All our people were ſitting together armed on the forepart of the veſſel; I ſoon divined they intended us no harm, for they gave us the ſalute *Salam Alicum!* before they were within ten yards of us. I anſwered with great complacency; we handed them on board, and ſet them down upon deck. The three officers were genteel young men, of a ſickly appearance, dreſſed in the faſhion of the country, in long burnooſes looſely hanging about them, ſtriped with red and white; they wore a turban of red, green, and white, with ten thouſand taſſels and fringes hanging down to the ſmall of their backs. They had in their hand, each, a ſhort javelin, the ſhaft not above four feet and a half long, with an iron head about nine inches, and two or three iron hooks below the ſhaft, which was bound round with braſs-wire, in ſeveral places, and ſhod with iron at the farther end.

They

They aſked me where I came from? I ſaid, from Conſtantinople, laſt from Cairo; but begged they would put no more queſtions to me, as I was not at liberty to anſwer them. They ſaid they had orders from their maſters to bid me welcome, if I was the perſon that had been recommended to them by the Sherriffe, and was Ali Bey's phyſician at Cairo. I ſaid, if Metical Aga had adviſed them of that, then I was the man. They replied he had, and were come to bid me welcome, and attend me on ſhore to their maſters, whenever I pleaſed. I begged them to carry my humble reſpects to their maſters; and told them, though I did not doubt of their protection in any ſhape, yet I could not think it conſiſtent with ordinary prudence, to riſk myſelf at ten o'clock at night, in a town ſo full of diſorder as Yambo appeared to have been for ſome time, and where ſo little regard was paid to diſcipline or command, as to fight with one another. They ſaid that was true, and I might do as I pleaſed; but the firing that I had heard did not proceed from fighting, but from their rejoicing upon making peace.

In ſhort, we found, that, upon ſome diſcuſſion, the garriſon and townſmen had been fighting for ſeveral days, in which diſorders the greateſt part of the ammunition in the town had been expended, but it had ſince been agreed on by the old men of both parties, that no body had been to blame on either ſide, but the whole wrong was the work of *a Camel*. *A camel*, therefore, was ſeized, and brought without the town, and there a number on both ſides having met, they upbraided the *camel* with every thing that had been either ſaid or done. The *camel* had killed men, *he* had threatened to ſet the town on fire; the *camel* had threatened to burn the Aga's houſe, and the caſtle; *he* had curſed the

Grand Signior, and the Sherriffe of Mecca, the ſovereigns of the two parties; and, the only thing the poor animal was intereſted in, *he* had threatened to deſtroy the wheat that was going to Mecca. After having ſpent great part of the afternoon in upbraiding the *camel*, whoſe meaſure of iniquity, it ſeems, was near full, each man thruſt him through with a lance, devoting him *Diis manibus & Diris*, by a kind of prayer, and with a thouſand curſes upon his head. After which, every man retired, fully ſatisfied as to the wrongs he hadreceived from the *camel*.

The reader will eaſily obſerve in this, ſome traces of the *azazel, or ſcape-goat of the Jews, which was turned out into the wilderneſs, loaded with the ſins of the people.

Next morning I went to the palace, as we call it, in which were ſome very handſome apartments. There was a guard of janiſſaries at the door, who, being warriors, lately come from the bloody battle with the *camel*, did not fail to ſhew marks of inſolence, which they wiſhed to be miſtaken for courage.

The two Agas were ſitting on a high bench upon Perſian carpets; and about forty well-dreſſed and well-looking men, (many of them old) ſitting on carpets upon the floor, in a ſemi-circle round them. They behaved with great politeneſs and attention, and aſked no queſtions but general ones; as, How the ſea agreed with me? If there was plenty at Cairo? till

* Levit. chap. xvi. ver. 5.

till I was going away, when the youngeſt of the Agas inquired, with a ſeeming degree of diffidence, Whether Mahomet Bey Abou Dahab, was ready to march? As I knew well what this queſtion meant, I anſwered, I know not if he is ready, he has made great preparations. The other Aga ſaid, I hope you will be a meſſenger of peace? I anſwered, I intreat you to aſk me no queſtions; I hope, by the grace of God, all will go well. Every perſon preſent applauded the ſpeech; agreed to reſpect my ſecret, as they ſuppoſed I had one, and they all were inclined to believe, that I was a man in the confidence of Ali Bey, and that his hoſtile deſigns againſt Mecca were laid aſide: this was juſt what I wiſhed them to ſuppoſe; for it ſecured me againſt ill-uſage all the time I choſe to ſtay there; and of this I had a proof in the inſtant, for a very good houſe was provided for me by the Aga, and a man of his ſent to ſhew me to it.

I WONDERED the Rais had not come home with me; who, in about half an hour after I had got into my houſe, came and told me, that, when the captain of the boat came on board the firſt time with the two ſoldiers, he had put a note, which they call *tiſkera*, into his hand, preſſing him into the Sherriffe's ſervice, to carry wheat to Jidda, and, with the wheat, a number of *poor pilgrims* that were going to Mecca at the Sherriffe's expence. Finding us, however, out of the harbour, and, ſuſpecting from our manners and carriage towards the janiſſaries, that we were people who knew what we had to truſt to, he had taken the two ſoldiers a-ſhore with him, who were by no means fond of their reception, or inclined to ſtay in ſuch company; and, indeed, our dreſſes and appearances in the boat were fully as likely to make ſtrangers believe we ſhould rob them, as theirs were to im-

preſs us with an apprehenſion that they would rob us. The Rais ſaid alſo, that, after my audience, the Aga had called upon him, and taken away the *tiſkera*, telling him he was free, and to obey nobody but me; and ſent me one of his ſervants to ſit at the door, with orders to admit nobody but whom I pleaſed, and that I might not be troubled with the people of Yambo.

HITHERTO all was well; but it had been with me an obſervation, which had conſtantly held good, that too proſperous beginnings in theſe countries always ended in ill at the laſt. I was therefore reſolved to uſe my proſperity with great temperance and caution, make myſelf as ſtrong, and uſe my ſtrength as little, as it was poſſible for me to do.

THERE was a man of conſiderable weight in Aleppo, named *Sidi Ali Taraboluſſi, who was a great friend of Dr Ruſſel, our phyſician, through whom I became acquainted with him. He was an intimate friend and acquaintance of the cadi of Medina, and had given me a letter to him, recommending me, in a very particular manner, to his protection and ſervices. I inquired about this perſon, and was told he was in town, directing the diſtribution of the corn to be ſent to his capital. Upon my inquiry, the news were carried to him as ſoon almoſt as his name was uttered; on which, being deſirous of knowing what ſort of man I was, about eight o'clock in the evening he ſent me a meſſage, and, immediately after, I received a viſit from him.

I WAS

* Native of Tripoli; it is Turkiſh.

I was putting my teleſcopes and time-keeper in order, and had forbid admittance to any one; but this was ſo holy and ſo dignified a perſon, that all doors were open to him. He obſerved me working about the great teleſcope and quadrant in my ſhirt, for it was hot beyond conception upon the ſmalleſt exertion. Without making any apology for the intruſion at all, he broke out into exclamation, how lucky he was! and, without regarding me, he went from teleſcope to clock, from clock to quadrant, and from that to the thermometer, crying, *Ah tibe, ah tibe!* This is fine, this is fine! He ſcarcely looked upon me, or ſeemed to think I was worth his attention, but touched every thing ſo carefully, and handled ſo properly the braſs cover of the alidade, which incloſed the horſe-hair with the plummet, that he ſeemed to be a man more than ordinarily verſed in the uſe of aſtronomical inſtruments. In ſhort, not to repeat uſeleſs matter to the reader, I found he had ſtudied at Conſtantinople, underſtood the principles of geometry very tolerably, was maſter of Euclid ſo far as it regarded plain trigonometry; the demonſtrations of which he rattled off ſo rapidly, that it was impoſſible to follow, or to underſtand him. He knew nothing of ſpherics, and all his aſtronomy reſolved itſelf at laſt into maxims of judicial aſtrology, firſt and ſecond houſes of the planets and aſcendancies, very much in the ſtyle of common almanacks.

He deſired that my door might be open to him at all times, eſpecially when I made obſervations; he alſo knew perfectly the diviſion of our clocks, and begged he might count time for me. All this was eaſily granted, and I had from him, what was moſt uſeful, a hiſtory of the ſituation of the government of the place, by which I learned,

that the two young men (the governors) were ſlaves of the Sherriffe of Mecca; that it was impoſſible for any one, the moſt intimate with them, to tell which of the two was moſt baſe or profligate; that they would have robbed us all of the laſt farthing, if they had not been reſtrained by fear; and that there was a foreigner, or a frank, very lately going to India, who had diſappeared, but, as he believed, had been privately put to death in priſon, for he had never after been heard of.

Though I cannot ſay I reliſhed this account, yet I put on the very beſt face poſſible, "Here, in a garriſon town, ſaid I, with very worthleſs ſoldiers, they might do what they pleaſed with ſix or ſeven ſtrangers, but I do not fear them; I now tell them, and the people of Yambo, all and each of them, they had better be in their bed ſick of the plague, than touch a hair of my dog, if I had one." "And ſo, ſays he they know, therefore reſt and rejoice, and ſtay as long with us as you can." "As ſhort time as poſſible, ſaid I, Sidi Mahomet; although I do not fear wicked people, I don't love them ſo much as to ſtay long with them."

He then aſked me a favour, that I would allow my Rais to carry a quantity of wheat for him to Jidda; which I willingly permitted, upon condition, that he would order but one man to go along with it; on which he declared ſolemnly, that none but one ſhould go, and that I might *throw* him even into the *ſea*, if he behaved improperly. However, afterwards he ſent three; and one who deſerved often to be *thrown* into the *ſea*, as he had permitted. "Now friend, ſaid I, I have done every thing that you have deſired, though favours ſhould have begun with you upon your

your own principle, as I am the ſtranger. Now, what I have to aſk you is this,---Do you know the Shekh of Beder Hunein? Know him! ſays he, I am married to his ſiſter, a daughter of Harb; he is of the tribe of Harb." "Harb be it then (ſaid I) your trouble will be the leſs; then you are to ſend a camel to your brother-in-law, who will procure me the largeſt, and moſt perfect plant poſſible of the Balſam of Mecca. He is not to break the ſtem, nor even the branches, but to pack it entire, with fruit and flower, if poſſible, and wrap it in a mat." He looked cunning, ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, drew up his mouth, and putting his finger to his noſe, ſaid, "Enough, I know all about this, you ſhall find what ſort of a man I am, I am no fool, as you ſhall ſee."

I RECEIVED this the third day at dinner, but the flower (if there had been any) was rubbed off. The fruit was in ſeveral ſtages, and in great perfection. The drawing, and deſcription from this *plant, will, I hope, for ever obviate all difficulty about its hiſtory. He ſent me, likewiſe, a quart bottle of the pure balſam, as it had flowed that year from the tree, with which I have verified what the old botaniſts in their writings have ſaid of it, in its ſeveral ſtages. He told me alſo the circumſtances I have related in my deſcription of the balſam, as to the gathering and preparing of the ſeveral kinds of it, and a curious anecdote as to its origin. He ſaid the plant was no part of the creation of God in the ſix days, but that, in the laſt of three very bloody battles, which Mahomet fought with the noble Arabs of Harb, and his kinſ-

* See the article Baleſſan in the Appendix.

men the Beni Koreiſh, then Pagans at Beder Hunein, that Mahomet prayed to God, and a grove of balſam-trees grew up from the blood of the ſlain upon the field of battle; and, that with the balſam that flowed from them he touched the wounds even of thoſe that were dead, and all thoſe predeſtined to be good *Muſſulmen* afterwards, immediately came to life. "I hope, ſaid I, friend, that the other things you told me of it, are fully as true as this, for they will otherwiſe laugh at me in England." "No, no, ſays he, not half ſo true, nor a quarter ſo true, there is nothing in the world ſo certain as this." But his looks, and his laughing very heartily, ſhewed me plainly he knew better, as indeed moſt of them do.

In the evening, before we departed, about nine o'clock, I had an unexpected viſit from the youngeſt of the two Agas; who, after many pretended complaints of ſickneſs, and injunctions of ſecrecy, at laſt *modeſtly* requeſted me to give him ſome *ſlow poiſon*, that might kill *his brother*, without ſuſpicion, and after ſome time ſhould elapſe. I told him, ſuch propoſals were not to be made to a man like me; that all the gold, and all the ſilver in the world, would not engage me to poiſon the pooreſt vagrant in the ſtreet, ſuppoſing it never was to be ſuſpected, or known but to my own heart. All he ſaid, was, "Then your manners are not the *ſame* as ours."---I anſwered, dryly, "*Mine*, I thank God, are not," and ſo we parted.

Yambo, or at leaſt the preſent town of that name, I found, by many obſervations of the ſun and ſtars, to be in latitude 24° 3′ 35″ north, and in long. 38° 16′ 30″ eaſt from the meridian of Greenwich. The barometer, at its higheſt, on the 23d of

of April, was 27° 8′, and, the loweſt on the 27th, was 26° 11′. The thermometer, on the 24th of April, at two o'clock in the afternoon, ſtood at 91°, and the loweſt was 66° in the morning of the 26th of ſame month. Yambo is reputed very unwholeſome, but there were no epidemical diſeaſes when I was there.

The many delays of loading the wheat, the deſire of *doubling* the quantity I had permitted, in which both the Rais and my friend the cadi conſpired for their mutual intereſt, detained me at Yambo all the 27th of April, very much againſt my inclination. For I was not a little uneaſy at thinking among what banditti I lived, whoſe daily wiſh was to rob and murder me, from which they were reſtrained by fear only; and this, a fit of drunkenneſs, or a piece of bad news, ſuch as a report of Ali Bey's death, might remove in a moment. Indeed we were allowed to want nothing. A ſheep, ſome bad beer, and ſome very good wheat-bread, were delivered to us every day from the Aga, which, with dates and honey, and a variety of preſents from thoſe that I attended as a phyſician, made us paſs our time comfortably enough; we went frequently in the boats to fiſh at ſea, and, as I had brought with me three fizgigs of different ſizes, with the proper lines, I ſeldom returned without killing four or five dolphins. The ſport with the line was likewiſe excellent. We caught a number of beautiful fiſh from the very houſe where we lodged, and ſome few good ones. We had vinegar in plenty at Yambo; onions, and ſeveral other greens, from Raddua; and, being all cooks, we lived well.

On the 28th of April, in the morning, I ſailed with a cargo of wheat that did not belong to me, and three paſſengers, inſtead of one, for whom only I had undertaken. The wind was fair, and I ſaw one advantage of allowing the Rais to load, was, that he was determined to carry ſail to make amends for the delay. There was a tumbling, diſagreeable ſwell, and the wind ſeemed dying away. One of our paſſengers was very ſick. At his requeſt, we anchored at Djar, a round ſmall port, whoſe entrance is at the north-eaſt. It is about three fathoms deep throughout, unleſs juſt upon the ſouth ſide, and perfectly ſheltered from every wind. We ſaw here, for the firſt time, ſeveral plants of rack tree, growing conſiderably within the ſea-mark, in ſome places with two feet of water upon the trunk. I found the latitude of Djar to be 23° 36′ 9″ north. The mountains of Beder Hunein were S. S. W. of us.

The 29th, at five o'clock in the morning, we ſailed from Djar. At eight, we paſſed a ſmall cape called * Ras el Himma; and the wind turning ſtill more freſh, we paſſed a kind of harbour called Maibeed, where there is an anchoring place named El Horma. The ſun was in the meridian when we paſſed this; and I found, by obſervation, El Horma was in lat. 23° 0′ 30″ north. At ten we paſſed a mountain on land called Soub; at two, the ſmall port of Muftura, under a mountain whoſe name is Hajoub; at half paſt four we came to an anchor at a place called Harar. The wind had been contrary all the night, being ſouth-eaſt, and rather freſh;

* Cape Fever.

freſh; we thought, too, we perceived a current ſetting ſtrongly to the weſtward.

On the 30th we ſailed at eight in the morning, but the wind was unfavourable, and we made little way. We were ſurrounded with a great many ſharks, ſome of which ſeemed to be large. Though I had no line but upon the ſmall fizgigs for dolphins, I could not refrain from attempting one of the largeſt, for they were ſo bold, that ſome of them, we thought, intended to leap on board. I ſtruck one of the moſt forward of them, juſt at the joining of the neck; but as we were not practiſed enough in laying our line, ſo as to run out without hitching, he leaped above two feet out of the water, then plunged down with prodigious violence, and our line taking hold of ſomething ſtanding in the way, the cord ſnapped aſunder, and away went the ſhark. All the others diſappeared in an inſtant; but the Rais ſaid, as ſoon as they ſmelled the blood, they would not leave the wounded one, till they had torn him to pieces. I was truly ſorry for the loſs of my tackle, as the two others were really liker harpoons, and not ſo manageable. But the Rais, whom I had ſtudied to keep in very good humour, and had befriended in every thing, was an old harpooner in the Indian Ocean, and he pulled out from his hold a compleat apparatus. He not only had a ſmall harpoon like my firſt, but better conſtructed. He had, likewiſe, ſeveral hooks with long chains and lines, and a wheel with a long hair line to it, like a ſmall windlaſs, to which he equally fixed the line of the harpoon, and thoſe of the hooks. This was a compliment he ſaw I took very kindly, and did not doubt it would be rewarded in the proper time.

The wind freſhening and turning fairer, at noon we brought to, within ſight of Rabac, and at one o'clock anchored there. Rabac is a ſmall port in lat. 22° 35′ 30″ north. The entry is E. N. E. and is about a quarter of a mile broad. The port extends itſelf to the eaſt, and is about two miles long. The mountains are about three leagues to the north, and the town of Rabac about four miles north by eaſt from the entrance to the harbour. We remained all day, the firſt of May, in the port, making a drawing of the harbour. The night of our anchoring there, the Emir Hadje of the pilgrims from Mecca encamped about three miles off. We heard his evening gun.

The paſſengers that had been ſick, now inſiſted upon going to ſee the Hadje; but as I knew the conſequence would be, that a number of fanatic wild people would be down upon us, I told him plainly, if he went from the boat, he ſhould not again be received; and that we would haul out of the port, and anchor in the offing; this kept him with us. But all next day he was in very bad humour, repeating frequently, to himſelf, that he deſerved all this for embarking with infidels.

The people came down to us from Rabac with water melons, and ſkins full of water. All ſhips may be ſupplied here plentifully from wells near the town; the water is not bad.

The country is level, and ſeemingly uncultivated, but has not ſo deſert a look as about Yambo. I ſhould ſuſpect by its appearance, and the freſhneſs of its water, that it rained

rained at times in the mountains here, for we were now conſiderably within the tropic, which paſſes very near Ras el Himma, whereas Rabac is half a degree to the ſouthward.

On the 2d, at five o'clock in the morning, we ſailed from Rabac, with a very little wind, ſcarcely making two knots an hour.

At half paſt nine, Deneb bore eaſt and by ſouth from us. This place is known by a few palm-trees. The port is ſmall, and very indifferent, at leaſt for ſix months of the year, becauſe it lies open to the ſouth, and there is a prodigious ſwell here.

At one o'clock we paſſed an iſland called Hammel, about a mile off; at the ſame time, another iſland, El Memiſk, bore eaſt of us, about three miles, where there is good anchorage.

At three and three quarters, we paſſed an iſland called Gawad, a mile and a quarter ſouth-eaſt of us. The main bore likewiſe ſouth-eaſt, diſtant ſomething more than a league. We here changed our courſe from ſouth to W. S. W. and at four o'clock came to an anchor at the ſmall iſland of Lajack.

The 3d, we ſailed at half paſt four in the morning, our courſe W. S. W. but it fell calm; after having made about a league, we found ourſelves off Ras Hateba, or the Woody Cape, which bore due eaſt of us. After doubling the cape,

the wind freſhening, at four o'clock in the afternoon we anchored in the port of Jidda, cloſe upon the key, where the officers of the cuſtom-houſe immediately took poſſeſſion of our baggage.

CHAP.

Arab Sheikh;
Tribe Beni Koreish.

Heath Sc

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CHAP. XI.

Occurrences at Jidda—Viſit of the Vizir—Alarm of the Factory—Great Civility of the Engliſh trading from India—Polygamy—Opinion of Dr Arbuthnot ill-founded—Contrary to Reaſon and Experience—Leave Jidda.

THE port of Jidda is a very extenſive one, conſiſting of numberleſs ſhoals, ſmall iſlands, and ſunken rocks, with channels, however, between them, and deep water. You are very ſafe in Jidda harbour, whatever wind blows, as there are numberleſs ſhoals which prevent the water from ever being put into any general motion; and you may moor head and ſtern, with twenty anchors out if you pleaſe. But the danger of being loſt, I conceive, lies in the going in and coming out of the harbour. Indeed the obſervation is here verified, the more *dangerous* the *port*, the *abler* the *pilots*, and no accidents ever happen.

THERE is a draught of the harbour of Jidda handed about among the Engliſh for many years, very inaccurately, and very ill laid down, from what authority I know not, often condemned, but never corrected; as alſo a pretended chart of the upper part of the Gulf, from Jidda to Mocha, full of ſoundings. As I was ſome months at Jidda, kindly enter-

tained, and had abundance of time, Captain Thornhill, and ſome other of the gentlemen trading thither, wiſhed me to make a ſurvey of the harbour, and promiſed me the aſſiſtance of their officers, boats, and crews. I very willingly undertook it to oblige them. Finding afterwards, however, that one of their number, Captain Newland, had undertaken it, and that he would be hurt by my interfering, as he was in ſome manner advanced in the work, I gave up all further thoughts of the plan. He was a man of real ingenuity and capacity, as well as very humane, well behahaved, and one to whom I had been indebted for every ſort of attention.

God forgive thoſe who have taken upon them, very lately, to ingraft a number of new ſoundings upon that miſerable bundle of errors, that Chart of the upper part of the Gulf from Jidda to Mocha, which has been toſſed about the Red Sea theſe twenty years and upwards. One of theſe, ſince my return to Europe, has been ſent to me new dreſſed like a bride, with all its original and mortal ſins upon its head. I would beg leave to be underſtood, that there is not in the world a man more averſe than I am to give offence even to a child. It is not in the ſpirit of criticiſm I ſpeak this. In any other caſe, I would not have made any obſervations at all. But, where the lives and properties of ſo many are at ſtake yearly, it is a ſpecies of treaſon to conceal one's ſentiments, if the publiſhing of them can any way contribute to ſafety, whatever offence it may give to unreaſonable individuals.

Of all the veſſels in Jidda, two only had their log lines properly divided, and yet all were ſo fond of their ſuppoſed accuracy,

accuracy, as to aver they had kept their courſe within five leagues, between India and Babelmandeb. Yet they had made no eſtimation of the currents without the * Babs, nor the different very ſtrong ones ſoon after paſſing Socotra; their half-minute glaſſes upon a medium ran 57″; they had made no obſervation on the tides or currents in the Red Sea, either in the channel or in the inward paſſage; yet there is delineated in this map a courſe of Captain Newland's, which he kept in the middle of the channel, full of ſharp angles and ſhort ſtretches; you would think every yard was meaſured and ſounded.

To the ſpurious catalogue of ſoundings found in the old chart above mentioned, there is added a double proportion of new, from what authority is not known; ſo that from Mocha, to lat. 17° you have as it were ſoundings every mile, or even leſs. No one can caſt his eyes on the upper part of the map, but muſt think the Red Sea one of the moſt frequented places in the world. Yet I will aver, without fear of being contradicted, that it is a characteriſtic of the Red Sea, ſcarce to have ſoundings in any part of the channel, and often on both ſides, whilſt aſhore ſoundings are hardly found a boat-length from the main. To this I will add, that there is ſcarce one iſland upon which I ever was, where the boltſprit was not over the land, while there were no ſoundings by a line heaved over the ſtern. I muſt then proteſt againſt making theſe old moſt erroneous maps a foundation for new ones, as they can be of no uſe, but muſt be of

 detriment.

* This is a common ſailor's phraſe for the Straits of Babelmandeb.

detriment. Many good ſeamen of knowledge and enterpriſe have been in that ſea, within theſe few years. Let them ſay, candidly, what were their inſtruments, what their difficulties were, where they had doubts, where they ſucceeded, and where they were diſappointed? Were theſe acknowledged by one, they would be ſpeedily taken up by others, and rectified by the help of mathematicians and good obſervers on ſhore.

Mr Niebuhr has contributed much, but we ſhould reform the map on both ſides; though there is a great deal done, yet much remains ſtill to do. I hope that my friend Mr Dalrymple, when he can afford time, will give us a foundation more proper to build upon, than that old rotten one, however changed in form, and ſuppoſed to have been improved, if he really has a number of obſervations by him that can be relied on, otherwiſe it is but continuing the deluſion and the danger.

If ſhips of war afterwards, that keep the channel, ſhall come, manned with ſtout and able ſeamen, and expert young officers, provided with lines, glaſſes, good compaſſes, and a number of boats, then we ſhall know theſe ſoundings, at leaſt in part. And then alſo we ſhall know the truth of what I now advance, viz. that ſhips like thoſe employed hitherto in trading from India (manned and provided as the beſt of them are) were incapable, amidſt unknown tides and currents, and going before a monſoon, whether ſouthern or northern, of knowing within three leagues where any one of them had ever dropt his ſounding line, unleſs he was cloſe on board ſome iſland, ſhoal, remarkable point, or in a harbour.

Till that time, I would adviſe every man ſailing in the Red Sea, eſpecially in the channel, where the pilots know no more than he, to truſt to his own hands for ſafety in the minute of danger, to heave the lead at leaſt every hour, keep a good look-out, and ſhorten ſail in a freſh wind, or in the night-time, and to conſider all maps of the channel of the Arabian Gulf, yet made, as matters of mere curioſity, and not fit to truſt a man's life to. Any captain in the India ſervice, who had run over from Jidda into the mouth of the river Frat, and the neighbouring port Kilfit, which might every year be done for L. 10 Sterling extra expences, would do more meritorious ſervice to the navigation of that ſea, than all the ſoundings that were ever yet made from Jibbel Zekir to the iſland of Sheduan.

From Yambo to Jidda I had ſlept little, making my memoranda as full upon the ſpot as poſſible. I had, beſides, an aguiſh diſorder, which very much troubled me, and in dreſs and cleanlineſs was ſo like a Galiongy (or Turkiſh ſeaman) that the * Emir Bahar was aſtoniſhed at hearing my ſervants ſay I was an Engliſhman, at the time they carried away all my baggage and inſtruments to the cuſtom-houſe. He ſent his ſervant, however, with me to the Bengal-houſe, who promiſed me, in broken Engliſh, all the way, a very magnificent reception from my countrymen. Upon his naming all the captains for my choice, I deſired to be carried to a *Scotchman*, a *relation of my own*, who was then accidentally leaning over the rail of the ſtair-caſe, leading up to

* Captain of the port.

to his apartment. I ſaluted him by his name; he fell into a violent rage, calling me *villain*, *thief*, *cheat*, and *renegado raſcal*; and declared, if I offered to proceed a ſtep further, he would throw me over ſtairs. I went away without reply, his curſes and abuſe followed me long afterwards. The ſervant, my conductor, ſcrewed his mouth, and ſhrugged up his ſhoulders. "Never fear, ſays he, I will carry you to the *beſt of them all.*" We went up an oppoſite ſtair-caſe, whilſt I thought within myſelf, if thoſe are their India manners, I ſhall keep my name and ſituation to myſelf while I am at Jidda. I ſtood in no need of them, as I had credit for 1000 ſequins and more, if I ſhould want it, upon Youſef Cabil, Vizir or Governor of Jidda.

I WAS conducted into a large room, where Captain Thornhill was ſitting, in a white callico waiſtcoat, a very high-pointed white cotton night-cap, with a large tumbler of water before him, ſeemingly very deep in thought. The Emir Bahar's ſervant brought me forward by the hand, a little within the door; but I was not deſirous of advancing much farther, for fear of the ſalutation of being thrown down ſtairs again. He looked very ſteadily, but not ſternly, at me; and deſired the ſervant to go away and ſhut the door. "Sir, ſays he, are you an Engliſhman?"---I bowed.—"You ſurely are ſick, you ſhould be in your bed, have you been long ſick?"---I ſaid, "long Sir," and bowed.—"Are you wanting a paſſage to India?"---I again bowed.—"Well, ſays he, you look to be a man in diſtreſs; if you have a ſecret, I ſhall reſpect it till you pleaſe to tell it me, but if you want a paſſage to India, apply to no one but Thornhill of the Bengal merchant. Perhaps you are afraid of ſomebody, if ſo, aſk for Mr Greig, my lieutenant, he will carry you on board my ſhip directly,

directly, where you will be ſafe."—"Sir, ſaid I, I hope you will find me an honeſt man, I have no enemy that I know, either in Jidda or elſewhere, nor do I owe any man any thing."—"I am ſure, ſays he, I am doing wrong, in keeping a poor man ſtanding, who ought to be in his bed. Here! Philip! Philip!"—Philip appeared. "Boy," ſays he, in Portugueſe, which, as I imagine, he ſuppoſed I did not underſtand, "here is a poor Engliſhman, that ſhould be either in his bed or his grave; carry him to the cook, tell him to give him as much broth and mutton as he can eat; the *fellow* ſeems to have been ſtarved, but I would rather have the feeding of ten to India, than the burying of one at Jidda."

PHILIP DE LA CRUZ was the ſon of a Portugueſe lady, whom Captain Thornhill had married; a boy of great talents, and excellent diſpoſition, who carried me with great willingneſs to the cook. I made as aukward a bow as I could to Capt. Thornhill, and ſaid, "God will return this to your honour ſome day." Philip carried me into a court-yard, where they uſed to expoſe the ſamples of their India goods in large bales. It had a portico along the left-hand ſide of it, which ſeemed deſigned for a ſtable. To this place I was introduced, and thither the cook brought me my dinner. Several of the Engliſh from the veſſels, laſcars, and others, came in to look at me; and I heard it, in general, agreed among them, that I was a very thief-like fellow, and certainly a Turk, and d——n them if they ſhould like to fall into my hands.

I FELL faſt aſleep upon the mat, while Philip was ordering me another apartment. In the mean time, ſome of my people had followed the baggage to the Cuſtom-houſe, and ſome of them ſtaid on board the boat, to prevent the

pilfering of what was left. The keys had remained with me, and the Vizir had gone to ſleep, as is uſual, about mid-day. As ſoon as he awaked, being greedy of his prey, he fell immediately to my baggage, wondering that ſuch a quantity of it, and that boxes in ſuch a curious form, ſhould belong to a mean man like me; he was therefore full of hopes, that a fine opportunity for pillage was now at hand. He aſked for the keysof the trunks, my ſervant ſaid, they were with me, but he would go inſtantly and bring them. That, however, was too long to ſtay; no delay could poſſibly be granted. Accuſtomed to pilfer, they did not force the locks, but, very artiſt like, took off the hinges at the back, and in that manner opened the lids, without opening the locks.

The firſt thing that preſented itſelf to the Vizir's ſight, was the firman of the Grand Signior, magnificently written and titled, and the inſcription powdered with gold duſt, and wrapped in green taffeta. After this was a white ſattin bag, addreſſed to the Khan of Tartary, with which Mr Peyſſonel, French conſul of Smyrna, had favoured me, and which I had not delivered, as the Khan was then priſoner at Rhodes. The next was a green and gold ſilk bag, with letters directed to the Sherriffe of Mecca; and then came a plain crimſon-ſattin bag, with letters addreſſed to Metical Aga, ſword-bearer (or Selictar, as it is called) of the Sherriffe, or his great miniſter and favourite. He then found a letter from Ali Bey to himſelf, written with all the ſuperiority of a Prince to a ſlave.

In this letter the Bey told him plainly, that he heard the governments of Jidda, Mecca, and other States of the Sherriffe, were diſorderly, and that merchants, coming about their

their lawful buſineſs, were plundered, terrified, and detained. He therefore intimated to him, that if any ſuch thing happened to me, he ſhould not write or complain, but he would ſend and puniſh the affront at the very gates of Mecca. This was very unpleaſant language to the Vizir, becauſe it was now publicly known, that Mahomet Bey Abou Dahab was preparing next year to march againſt Mecca, for ſome offence the Bey had taken at the Sherriffe. There was alſo another letter to him from Ibrahim Sikakeen, chief of the merchants at Cairo, ordering him to furniſh me with a thouſand ſequins for my preſent uſe, and, if more were needed, to take my bill.

These contents of the trunk were ſo unexpected, that Cabil the Vizir thought he had gone too far, and called my ſervant in a violent hurry, upbraiding him, for not telling who I was. The ſervant defended himſelf, by ſaying, that neither he, nor his people about him, would ſo much as regard a word that he ſpoke; and the cadi of Medina's principal ſervant, who had come with the wheat, told the Vizir plainly to his face, that he had given him warning enough, if his pride would have ſuffered him to hear it.

All was now wrong, my ſervant was ordered to nail up the hinges, but he declared it would be the laſt action of his life; that nobody opened baggage that way, but with intention of ſtealing, when the keys could be got; and, as there were many rich things in the trunk, intended as preſents to the Sherriffe, and Metical Aga, which might have been taken out, by the hinges being forced off before he came, he waſhed his hands of the whole procedure, but

knew his maſter would complain, and loudly too, and would be heard both at Cairo and Jidda. The Vizir took his reſolution in a moment like a man. He nailed up the baggage, ordered his horſe to be brought, and attended by a number of naked blackguards (whom they call ſoldiers) he came down to the Bengal houſe, on which the whole factory took alarm.

About twenty-ſix years before, the Engliſh traders from India to Jidda, fourteen in number, were all murdered, ſitting at dinner, by a mutiny of theſe wild people. The houſe has, ever ſince, lain in ruins, having been pulled down and forbidden to be rebuilt.

Great inquiry was made after the Engliſh nobleman, whom nobody had ſeen; but it was ſaid that one of his ſervants was there in the Bengal houſe; I was ſitting drinking coffee on the mat, when the Vizir's horſe came, and the whole court was filled. One of the clerks of the cuſtom-houſe aſked me where my maſter was? I ſaid, "In heaven." The Emir Bahar's ſervant now brought forward the Vizir to me, who had not diſmounted himſelf. He repeated the ſame queſtion, where my maſter was?—I told him, I did not know the purport of his queſtion, that I was the perſon to whom the baggage belonged, which he had taken to the cuſtom-houſe, and that it was in my favour the Grand Signior and Bey had written. He ſeemed very much ſurpriſed, and aſked me how I could appear in ſuch a dreſs?—"You cannot aſk that ſeriouſly, ſaid I; I believe no prudent man would dreſs better, conſidering the voyage I have made. But, beſides, you did not leave it in my power, as

as every article, but what I have on me, has been theſe four hours at the cuſtom-houſe, waiting your pleaſure."

We then went all up to our kind landlord, Captain Thornhill, to whom I made my excuſe, on acount of the ill uſage I had firſt met with from my own relation. He laughed very heartily at the narrative, and from that time we lived in the greateſt friendſhip and confidence. All was made up, even with Youſef Cabil; and all heads were employed to get the ſtrongeſt letters poſſible to the Naybe of Maſuah, the king of Abyſſinia, Michael Suhul the miniſter, and the king of Sennaar.

Metical Aga, great friend and protector of the Engliſh at Jidda, and in effect, we may ſay, *ſold to them*, for the great preſents and profits he received, was himſelf originally an Abyſſinian ſlave, was the man of confidence, and directed the ſale of the king's, and Michael's gold, ivory, civet, and ſuch precious commodities, that are paid to them in kind; he furniſhed Michael, likewiſe, with returns in fire-arms; and this had enabled Michael to ſubdue Abyſſinia, murder the king his maſter, and ſeat another on his throne.

On the other hand, the Naybe of Maſuah, whoſe iſland belonged to the Grand Signior, and was an appendage of the government of the Baſha of Jidda, had endeavoured to withdraw himſelf from his allegiance, and ſet up for independency. He paid no tribute, nor could the Baſha, who had no troops, force him, as he was on the Abyſſinian ſide of the Red Sea. Metical Aga, however, and the Baſha, at laſt agreed; the latter ceded to the former the iſland and territory of Maſuah, for a fixed ſum annually;

and Metical Aga appointed Michael, governor of Tigré, receiver of his rents. The Naybe no ſooner found that he was to account to Michael, than he was glad to pay his tribute, and give preſents to the bargain; for Tigré was the province from which he drew his ſuſtenance, and Michael could have over-run his whole territory in eight days, which once, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, belonged to Abyſſinia. Metical's power being then univerſally acknowledged and known, the next thing was to get him to make uſe of it in my favour.

We knew of how little avail the ordinary futile recommendations of letters were. We were veteran travellers, and knew the ſtyle of the Eaſt too well, to be duped by letters of mere civility. There is no people on the earth more perfectly polite in their correſpondence with one another, than are thoſe of the Eaſt; but their civility means little more than the ſame ſort of expreſſions do in Europe, to ſhew you that the writer is a well-bred man. But this would by no means do in a journey ſo long, ſo dangerous, and ſo ſerious as mine.

We, therefore, ſet about procuring effective letters, letters of buſineſs and engagement, between man and man; and we all endeavoured to make Metical Aga a very good man, but no great head-piece, comprehend this perfectly. My letters from Ali Bey opened the affair to him, and firſt commanded his attention. A very handſome preſent of piſtols, which I brought him, inclined him in my favour, becauſe, as I was bearer of letters from his ſuperior, I might have declined beſtowing any preſent upon him.

The Engliſh gentlemen joined their influence, powerful enough, to have accompliſhed a much greater end, as every one of theſe have ſeparate friends for their own affairs, and all of them were deſirous to befriend me. Added to theſe was a friend of mine, whom I had known at Aleppo, Ali Zimzimiah, *i. e.* 'keeper of the holy well at Mecca,' a poſt of great dignity and honour. This man was a mathematician, and an aſtronomer, according to their degree of knowledge in that ſcience.

All the letters were written in a ſtyle ſuch as I could have deſired, but this did not ſuffice in the mind of a very friendly and worthy man, who had taken an attachment to me ſince my firſt arrival. This was Captain Thomas Price, of the Lion of Bombay. He firſt propoſed to Metical Aga, to ſend a man of his own with me, together with the letters, and I do firmly believe, under Providence, it was to this laſt meaſure I owed my life. With this Captain Thornhill heartily concurred, and an Abyſſinian, called Mahomet Gibberti, was appointed to go with particular letters beſides thoſe I carried myſelf, and to be an eye-witneſs of my reception there.

There was ſome time neceſſary for this man to make ready, and a conſiderable part of the Arabian Gulf ſtill remained for me to explore. I prepared, therefore, to ſet out from Jidda, after having made a conſiderable ſtay in it.

Of all the new things I yet had ſeen, what moſt aſtoniſhed me was the manner in which trade was carried on at this place. Nine ſhips were there from India; ſome of them worth, I ſuppoſe, L. 200,000. One merchant, a Turk, living at

at Mecca, thirty hours journey off, where no Chriſtian dares go, whilſt the whole Continent is open to the Turk for eſcape, offers to purchaſe the cargoes of four out of nine of theſe ſhips himſelf; another, of the ſame caſt, comes and ſays, he will buy none, unleſs he has them all. The ſamples are ſhewn, and the cargoes of the whole nine ſhips are carried into the wildeſt part of Arabia, by men with whom one would not wiſh to truſt himſelf alone in the field. This is not all, two India brokers come into the room to ſettle the price. One on the part of the India captain, the other on that of the buyer the Turk. They are neither Mahometans nor Chriſtians, but have credit with both. They ſit down on the carpet, and take an India ſhawl, which they carry on their ſhoulder, like a napkin, and ſpread it over their hands. They talk, in the mean time, indifferent converſation, of the arrival of ſhips from India, or of the news of the day, as if they were employed in no ſerious buſineſs whatever. After about twenty minutes ſpent in handling each others fingers below the ſhawl, the bargain is concluded, ſay for nine ſhips, without one word ever having been ſpoken on the ſubject, or pen or ink uſed in any ſhape whatever. There never was one inſtance of a diſpute happening in *theſe ſales*.

But this is not yet all, the money is to be paid. A private Moor, who has nothing to ſupport him but his character, becomes reſponſible for the payment of theſe cargoes; his name was Ibrahim Saraf when I was there, *i. e.* Ibrahim the Broker. This man delivers a number of coarſe hempen bags, full of what is ſuppoſed to be money. He marks the contents upon the bag, and puts his ſeal upon the ſtring that ties the mouth of it. This is received for what is marked upon it, without any one ever having opened

ed one of the bags, and, in India, it is current for the value marked upon it, as long as the bag laſts.

Jidda is very unwholeſome, as is, indeed, all the eaſt coaſt of the Red Sea. Immediately without the gate of that town, to the eaſtward, is a deſert plain filled with the huts of the Bedowèens, or country Arabs, built of long bundles of ſpartum, or bent graſs, put together like faſcines. Theſe Bedowèens ſupply Jidda with milk and butter. There is no ſtirring out of town, even for a walk, unleſs for about half a mile, in the ſouth ſide by the ſea, where there is a number of ſtinking pools of ſtagnant water, which contributes to make the town very unwholeſome.

Jidda, beſides being in the moſt unwholeſome part of Arabia, is, at the ſame time, in the moſt barren and deſert ſituation. This, and many other inconveniencies, under which it labours, would, probably, have occaſioned its being abandoned altogether, were it not for its vicinity to Mecca, and the great and ſudden influx of wealth from the India trade, which, once a-year, arrives in this part, but does not continue, paſſing on, as through a turnpike, to Mecca; whence it is diſperſed all over the eaſt. Very little advantage however accrues to Jidda. The cuſtoms are all immediately ſent to a needy ſovereign, and a hungry ſet of relations, dependents and miniſters at Mecca. The gold is returned in bags and boxes, and paſſes on as rapidly to the ſhips as the goods do to the market, and leaves as little profit behind. In the mean time, proviſions riſe to a prodigious price, and this falls upon the townſmen, while all the profit of the traffic is in the hands of ſtrangers; moſt of whom, after the market is over, (which does not laſt ſix weeks)

weeks) retire to Yemen, and other neighbouring countries, which abound in every ſort of proviſion.

Upon this is founded the obſervation, that of all Mahometan countries none are ſo monogam as thoſe of Jidda, and no where are there ſo many unmarried women, altho' this is the country of their prophet, and the permiſſion of marrying four wives was allowed in this diſtrict in the firſt inſtance, and afterwards communicated to all the tribes.

But Mahomet, in his permiſſion of plurality of wives, ſeems conſtantly to have been on his guard, againſt ſuffering that, which was intended for the welfare of his people, from operating in a different manner. He did not permit a man to marry two, three, or four wives, unleſs he could maintain them. He was intereſted for the rights and rank of theſe women; and the man ſo marrying was obliged to ſhew before the Cadi, or ſome equivalent officer, or judge, that it was in his power to ſupport them, according to their birth. It was not ſo with concubines, with women who were purchaſed, or who were taken in war. Every man enjoyed theſe at his pleaſure, and their peril, that is, whether he was able to maintain them or not.

From this great ſcarcity of proviſions, which is the reſult of an extraordinary concourſe to a place almoſt deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, few inhabitants of Jidda can avail themſelves of the privilege granted him by Mahomet. He therefore cannot marry more than one wife, becauſe he cannot maintain more, and from this cauſe ariſes the want of people, and the large number of unmarried women.

When

When in Arabia Felix, where every ſort of proviſion is exceedingly cheap, where the fruits of the ground, the general food for man, are produced ſpontaneouſly, the ſupporting of a number of wives coſts no more than ſo many ſlaves or ſervants; their food is the ſame, and a blue cotton ſhirt, a habit common to them all, is not more chargeable for the one than the other. The conſequence is, that celibacy in women is prevented, and the number of people is increaſed in a fourfold ratio by polygamy, to what it is in thoſe that are monogamous.

I know there are authors fond of ſyſtem, enemies to free inquiry, and blinded by prejudice, who contend that polygamy, without diſtinction of circumſtances, is detrimental to the population of a country. The learned Dr Arbuthnot, in a paper addreſſed to the Royal Society*, has maintained this ſtrange doctrine, in a ſtill ſtranger manner. He lays it down, as his firſt poſition, that *in ſemine maſculino* of our firſt parent Adam, there was impreſſed an original neceſſity of procreating, ever after, an equal number of males and females. The manner he proves this, has received great incenſe from the vulgar, as containing un unanſwerable argument. He ſhews, by the caſting of three dice, that the chances are almoſt infinite, that an equal number of males and females ſhould *not* be born in any year; and he pretends to prove, that every year in twenty, as taken from the bills of mortality, the ſame number of males and females have conſtantly been produced, or at leaſt a greater proportion of men than of women, to make up for the ha-

* Philoſoph. Tranſact. Vol. 27. p. 186.

vock occaſioned by war, murder, drunkenneſs, and all ſpecies of violence to which women are not ſubject.

I NEED not ſay, that this, at leaſt, ſufficiently ſhews the weakneſs of the argument. For, if the *equal* proportion had been *in ſemine maſculino* of our firſt parent, the conſequence muſt have been, that male and female would have been invariably born, from the creation to the end of all things. And it is a ſuppoſition very unworthy of the wiſdom of God, that, at the creation of man, he could make an allowance for any deviation that was to happen, from crimes, againſt the commiſſion of which his poſitive precepts ran. Weak as this is, it is not the weakeſt part of this artificial argument, which, like the web of a ſpider too finely woven, whatever part you touch it on, the whole falls to pieces.

AFTER taking it for granted, that he has proved the equality of the two ſexes in number, from the bills of mortality in London, he next ſuppoſes, as a conſequence, that all the world is in the ſame predicament; that is, that an equal number of males and females is produced every where. Why Dr Arbuthnot, an eminent phyſician (which ſurely implies an informed naturaliſt) ſhould imagine that this inference would hold, is what I am not able to account for. He ſhould know, let us ſay, in the countries of the eaſt, that fruits, flowers, trees, birds, fiſh, every blade of graſs, is commonly different, and that man, in his appearance, diet, exerciſe, pleaſure, government, and religion, is as widely different; why he ſhould found the iſſue of an Aſiatic, however, upon the bills of mortality in London, is to the full as abſurd as to aſſert, that they do not wear either beard or whiſkers in Syria, becauſe that is not the caſe in London.

I AM

I AM well aware, that it may be urged by thoſe who permit themſelves to ſay every thing, becauſe they are not at pains to conſider any thing, that the courſe of my argument will lead to a defence of polygamy in general, the ſuppoſed doctrine of the Thelypthora *. Such reflections as theſe, unleſs introduced for merriment, are below my animadverſion; all I ſhall ſay on that topic is, that they who find encouragement to polygamy in Mr Madan's book, the Thelypthora, have read it with a much more acute perception than perhaps I have done; and I ſhall be very much miſtaken, if polygamy increaſes in England upon the principles laid down in the Thelypthora.

ENGLAND, ſays Dr Arbuthnot, enjoys an equality of both ſexes, and, if it is not ſo, the inequality is ſo imperceptible, that no inconvenience has yet followed. What we have now to inquire is, Whether other nations, or the majority of them, are in the ſame ſituation? For, if we are to decide by this, and if we ſhould happen to find, that, in other countries, there are invariably born three women to one man, the concluſion, in regard to that country, muſt be, that three women to one man was the proportion of one ſex to the other, impreſſed at the creation *in ſemine* of our firſt parent.

I CONFESS I am not fond of meddling with the globe *before* the *deluge*. But as learned men ſeem inclined to think that Ararat and Euphrates are the mountain and river of antediluvian times, and that Meſopotamia, or Diarbekir, is the ancient ſituation of the terreſtrial paradiſe, I cannot give

* A late publication of Dr Madan's, little underſtood, as it would ſeem.

Dr Arbuthnot's argument fairer play*, than to tranſport myſelf thither; and, in the ſame ſpot where the neceſſity was impoſed of male and female being produced in equal numbers, inquire how that caſe ſtands now. The pretence that climates and times may have changed, the proportion cannot be admitted, ſince it has been taken for granted, that it exiſts in the bills of mortality in London, and governs them to this day; and, ſince it was founded on neceſſity, which muſt be eternal.

Now, from a diligent inquiry into the ſouth, and ſcripture-part of Meſopotamia, Armenia, and Syria, from Mouſul (or Nineveh) to Aleppo and Antioch, I find the proportion to be fully two women born to one man. There is indeed a fraction over, but not a conſiderable one. From Latikea, Laodicea ad mare, down the coaſt of Syria to Sidon, the number is very nearly three, or two and three-fourths to one man. Through the Holy Land, the country called *Horan*, in the Iſthmus of Suez, and the parts of the Delta, unfrequented by ſtrangers, it is ſomething leſs than three. But, from Suez to the ſtraits of Babelmandeb, which contains the three Arabias, the portion is fully four women to one man, which, I have reaſon to believe, holds as far as the Line, and 30° beyond it.

The Imam of Sana* was not an old man when I was in Arabia Felix in 1769; but he had 88 children then alive, of whom 14 only were ſons.---The prieſt of the Nile had 70 and odd

* Sovereign of Arabia Felix, whoſe capital is *Sana*.

odd children; of whom, as I remember, above 50 were daughters.

It may be objected, that Dr Arbuthnot, in quoting the bills of mortality for twenty years, gave moſt unexceptionable grounds for his opinion, and that my ſingle aſſertion of what happens in a foreign country, without further foundation, cannot be admitted as equivalent teſtimony; and I am ready to admit this objection, as bills of mortality there are none in any of theſe countries. I ſhall therefore ſay in what manner I attained the knowledge which I have juſt mentioned. Whenever I went into a town, village, or inhabited place, dwelt long in a mountain, or travelled journies with any ſet of people, I always made it my buſineſs to inquire how many children they had, or their fathers, their next neighbours, or acquaintance. This not being a captious queſtion, or what any one would ſcruple to anſwer, there was no intereſt to deceive; and if it had been poſſible, that two or three had been ſo wrong-headed among the whole, it would have been of little conſequence.

I then aſked my landlord at Sidon, (ſuppoſe him a weaver,) how many children he has had? He tells me how many ſons, and how many daughters. The next I aſk is a ſmith, a tailor, a ſilk-gatherer, the Cadi of the place, a cowherd, a hunter, a fiſher, in ſhort every man that is not a ſtranger, from whom I can get proper information. I ſay, therefore, that a medium of both ſexes ariſing from three or four hundred families indiſcriminately taken, ſhall be the proportion in which one differs from the other; and this, I am confident, will give the reſult to be three women

to

to one man in 50° out of the 90° under every meridian of the globe.

WITHOUT giving Mahomet all the credit for abilities that ſome have done, we may ſurely ſuppoſe him to know what happened in his own family, where he muſt have ſeen this great diſproportion of four women born to one man; and from the obvious conſequences, we are not to wonder that one of his firſt cares, when a legiſlator, was to rectify it, as it ſtruck at the very root of his empire, power, and religion. With this view, he enacted, or rather revived, the law which gave liberty to every individual to marry four wives, each of whom was to be equal in rank and honour, without any preference but what the predilection of the huſband gave her. By this he ſecured civil rights to each woman, and procured a means of doing away that reproach, of *dying without iſſue*, to which the minds of the whole ſex have always been ſenſible, whatever their religion was, or from whatever part of the world they came.

MANY, who are not converſant with Arabian hiſtory, have imagined, that this permiſſion of a plurality of wives was given in favour of men, and have taxed one of the moſt *political*, *neceſſary* meaſures, of that legiſlator, ariſing from motives merely civil, with a tendency to encourage lewdneſs, from which it was very far diſtant. But, if they had conſidered that the Mahometan law allows divorce without any *cauſe aſſigned*, and that, every day at the pleaſure of the man; beſides, that it permits him as many concubines as he can maintain, buy with money, take in war, or gain by the ordinary means of addreſs and ſolicitations,—they will think ſuch

ſuch a man was before ſufficiently provided, and that there was not the leaſt reaſon for allowing him to marry four wives at a time, when he was already at liberty to marry a new one every day.

Dr Arbuthnot lays it down as a ſelf-evident poſition, that four women will have more children by four men, than the ſame four women would have by one. This aſſertion may very well be diſputed, but ſtill it is not in point. For the queſtion with regard to Arabia, and to a great part of the world beſides, is, Whether or not four women and one man, married, or cohabiting at diſcretion, ſhall produce more children, than four women and one man who is debarred from cohabiting with any but one of the four, the others dying unmarried without the knowledge of man? or, in other words, Which ſhall have moſt children, one man and one woman, or one man and four women? This queſtion I think needs no diſcuſſion.

Let us now conſider, if there is any further reaſon why England ſhould not be brought as an example, which Arabia, or the Eaſt in general, are to follow.

Women in England are commonly capable of child-bearing at fourteen, let the other term be forty-eight, when they bear no more; thirty-four years, therefore, an Engliſh woman bears children. At the age of fourteen or fifteen they are objects of our love; they are endeared by bearing us children after that time, and none I hope will pretend, that, at forty-eight and fifty, an Engliſh woman is not an agreeable companion. Perhaps the laſt years, to thinking minds, are fully more agreeable than the firſt. We grow old together,

ther, we have a near proſpect of dying together; nothing can preſent a more agreeable picture of ſocial life, than monogamy in England.

The Arab, on the other hand, if ſhe begins to bear children at eleven, ſeldom or never has a child after twenty. The time then of her child-bearing is nine years, and four women, *taken altogether*, have then the term of *thirty-ſix*. So that the Engliſh woman that bears children for thirty-four years, has only two years leſs than the term enjoyed by the four wives whom Mahomet has allowed; and if it be granted an Engliſh wife may bear at fifty, the terms are equal.

But there are other grievous differences. An Arabian girl, at *eleven* years old, by her youth and beauty, is the object of man's deſire; being an infant, however, in underſtanding, ſhe is not a rational companion for him. A man marries there, ſay at *twenty*, and before he is thirty, his wife, improved as a companion, ceaſes to be an object of his deſires, and a mother of children; ſo that all the beſt, and moſt vigorous of his days, are ſpent with a woman he cannot love, and with her he would be deſtined to live forty, or forty-five years, without comfort to himſelf by increaſe of family, or utility to the public.

The reaſons, then, againſt polygamy, which ſubſiſt in England, do not by any means ſubſiſt in Arabia; and that being the caſe, it would be unworthy of the wiſdom of God, and an unevenneſs in his ways, which we ſhall never ſee, to ſubject two nations, under ſuch different circumſtances, abſolutely to the ſame obſervances.

I consider

I CONSIDER the prophecy concerning Iſhmael, and his deſcendants the Arabs, as one of the moſt extraordinary that we meet with in the Old Teſtament. It was alſo one of the earlieſt made, and proceeded upon grounds of private reparation. Hagar had not ſinned, though ſhe had fled from Sarah with Iſhmael her ſon into the wilderneſs. In that deſert there were then no inhabitants, and though Iſhmael's * ſucceſſion was incompatible with God's promiſe to Abraham and his ſon Iſaac, yet neither Hagar nor he having ſinned, juſtice required a reparation for the heritage which he had loſt. God gave him that very wilderneſs which before was the property of no man, in which Iſhmael was to erect a kingdom under the moſt improbable circumſtances poſſible to be imagined. His † hand was to be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him. By his ſword he was to live, and pitch his tent in the *face* of his brethren.

NEVER has prophecy been ſo completely fulfilled. It ſubſiſted from the earlieſt ages; it was verified before the time of Moſes; in the time of David and Solomon; it ſubſiſted in the time of Alexander and that of Auguſtus Cæſar; it ſubſiſted in the time of Juſtinian,---all very diſtant, unconnected periods; and I appeal to the evidence of mankind, if, without apparent ſupport or neceſſity, but what it has derived from God's promiſe only, it is not in full vigour at this very day. This prophecy alone, in the truth of which all ſorts of

* Gen. xv. 18. † Gen. xvi. 12.

religions agree, is therefore of itſelf a ſufficient proof, without other, of the Divine authority of the ſcripture.

MAHOMET prohibited all pork and wine; two articles which muſt have been, before, very little uſed in Arabia. Grapes, here, grow in the mountains of Yemen, but never arrive at maturity enough for wine. They bring them down for this purpoſe to Loheia, and there the heat of the climate turns the wine ſour before they can clear it of its fæces ſo as to make it drinkable; and we know that, before the appearance of Mahomet, Arabia was never a wine country. As for ſwine, I never heard of them in the peninſula, of Arabia, (unleſs perhaps wild in the woods about Sana,) and it was from early times inhabited by Jews before the coming of Mahomet. The only people therefore that ate ſwine's fleſh muſt have been Chriſtians, and they were a ſect of little account. Many of theſe, however, do not eat pork yet, but all of them were oppreſſed and deſpiſed every-where, and there was no inducement for any other people to imitate them.

MAHOMET then prohibiting only what was merely neutral, or indifferent to the Arabs, indulged them in that to which he knew they were prone.

AT the ſeveral converſations I had with the Engliſh merchants at Jidda, they complained grievouſly of the manner in which they were oppreſſed by the ſherriffe of Mecca and his officers. The duties and fees were increaſed every voyage; their privileges all taken away, and a moſt deſtructive meaſure introduced of forcing them to give preſents, which was only an inducement to oppreſs, that the gift might be the greater

greater. I aſked them if I ſhould obtain from the Bey of Cairo permiſſion for their ſhips to come down to Suez, whither there were merchants in India who would venture to undertake that voyage? Captain Thornhill promiſed, for his part, that the very ſeaſon after ſuch permiſſion ſhould arrive in India, he would diſpatch his ſhip the Bengal Merchant, under command of his mate Captain Greig, to whoſe capacity and worth all his countrymen bore very ready teſtimony, and of which I myſelf had formed a very good opinion, from the ſeveral converſations we had together. This ſcheme was concerted between me and Captain Thornhill only; and tho' it muſt be confeſſed it had the appearance of an airy one, (ſince it was not to be attempted, till I had returned through Abyſſinia and Nubia, againſt which there were many thouſand chances,) it was executed, notwithſtanding, in the very manner in which it had been planned, as will be after ſtated.

The kindneſs and attention of my countrymen did not leave me as long as I was on ſhore. They all did me the honour to attend me to the water edge. If others have experienced pride and preſumption, from gentlemen of the Eaſt-Indies, I was moſt happily exempted from even the appearance of it at Jidda. Happy it would have been for me, if I had been more neglected.

All the quay of Jidda was lined with people to ſee the Engliſh ſalute, and along with my veſſel there parted, at the ſame time, one bound to Maſuah, which carried Mahomet Abd el cader, Governor of Dahalac, over to his government.

Dahalac * is a large iſland, depending upon Maſuah, but which has a ſeparate firman, or commiſſion, renewed every two years. This man was a Moor, a ſervant of the Naybe of Maſuah, and he had been at Jidda to procure his firman from Metical Aga, while Mahomet Gibberti was to come with me, and was to bring it to the Naybe. This Abd el cader no ſooner was arrived at Maſuah, than, following the turn of his country for lying, he ſpread a report, that a great man, or prince, whom he left at Jidda, was coming ſpeedily to Maſuah; that he had brought great preſents to the Sherriffe and Metical Aga; that, in return, he had received a large ſum in *gold* from the Sherriffe's Vizir, Youſef Cabil; beſides as much as he pleaſed from the Engliſh, who had done nothing but feaſt and regale him for the ſeveral months he had been at Jidda; and that, when he departed, as this great man was now going to viſit the Imam in Arabia Felix, all the Engliſh ſhips hoiſted their colours, and fired their cannon from morning to night, for three days ſucceſſively, which was two days after he had ſailed, and therefore what he could not poſſibly have ſeen. The conſequence of all this was, the Naybe of Maſuah expected that a man with immenſe treaſures was coming to put himſelf into *his hands*. I look therefore upon the danger I eſcaped there as ſuperior to all thoſe put together, that I have ever been expoſed to: of ſuch material and bad conſequence is the moſt contemptible of all weapons, the tongue of a liar and a fool!

JIDDA

* The iſland of the Shepherds.

JIDDA is in lat. 28° 0′ 1″ north, and in long. 39° 16′ 45″ eaſt of the meridian of Greenwich. Our weather there had few changes. The general wind was north-weſt, or more northerly. This blowing along the direction of the Gulf brought a great deal of damp along with it; and this damp increaſes as the ſeaſon advances. Once in twelve or fourteen days, perhaps, we had a ſouth wind, which was always dry. The higheſt degree of the barometer at Jidda, on the 5th of June, wind north, was 26° 6′, and the loweſt on the 18th of ſame month, wind north-weſt, was 25° 7′. The higheſt degree of the thermometer was 97° on the 12th of July, wind north, the loweſt was 78° wind north.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Sails from Jidda—Konfodah—Ras Heli, boundary of Arabia Felix—Arrives at Loheia—Proceeds to the Straits of the Indian Ocean—Arrives there—Returns by Azab to Loheia.

IT was on the 8th of July 1769 I ſailed from the harbour of Jidda on board the ſame veſſel as before, and I ſuffered the Rais to take a ſmall loading for his own account, upon condition that he was to carry no paſſengers. The wind was fair, and we ſailed through the Engliſh fleet at their anchors. As they had all honoured me with their regret at parting, and accompanied me to the ſhore, the Rais was ſurpriſed to ſee the reſpect paid to his little veſſel as it paſſed under their huge ſterns, every one hoiſting his colours, and ſaluting it with eleven guns, except the ſhip belonging to my Scotch friend, who ſhewed his colours, indeed, but did not fire a gun, only ſtanding upon deck, cried with the trumpet, "Captain ——— wiſhes Mr Bruce a good voyage." I ſtood upon deck, took my trumpet, and anſwered, "Mr Bruce wiſhes Captain ——— a ſpeedy and perfect return of his underſtanding;" a wiſh, poor man, that has not yet been accompliſhed, and very much to my regret, it does not appear probable that ever it will. That night having paſſ-

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ed a cluſter of ſhoals, called the Shoals of Saſia, we anchored in a ſmall bay, Merſa Gedan, about twelve leagues from the harbour of Jidda.

The 9th of July, we paſſed another ſmall road called *Goofs*, and at a quarter paſt nine, Raghwan, eaſt north-eaſt two miles, and, at a quarter paſt ten, the ſmall Port of Sodi, bearing eaſt north-eaſt, at the ſame diſtance. At one and three quarters we paſſed Markat, two miles diſtant north-eaſt by eaſt; and a rock called *Numan*, two miles diſtant to the ſouth-weſt. After this the mountain of Somma, and, at a quarter paſt ſix, we anchored in a ſmall unſafe harbour, called *Merſa Brahim*, of which we had ſeen a very rough and incorrect deſign in the hands of the gentlemen at Jidda. I have endeavoured, with that draught before me, to correct it ſo far that it may now be depended upon.

The 10th, we ſailed, at five o'clock in the morning, with little wind, our courſe ſouth and by weſt; I ſuppoſe we were then going ſomething leſs than two knots an hour. At half after ſeven we paſſed the iſland Abeled, and two other ſmall mountains that bore about a league ſouth-weſt and by weſt of us. The wind freſhened as it approached mid-day, ſo that at one o'clock we went full three knots an hour, being obliged to change our courſe according to the lying of the iſlands. It came to be about ſouth ſouth-eaſt in the end of the day.

At a quarter after one, we paſſed Ras el Aſkar, meaning the Cape of the Soldiers, or of the Army. Here we ſaw ſome trees, and, at a conſiderable diſtance within the Main, mountains to the north-eaſt of us. At two o'clock we paſſed in

the middle channel, between five ſandy iſlands, all covered with kelp, three on the eaſt or right hand, and two on the weſt. They are called *Ginnan el Abiad*, or the White Gardens, I ſuppoſe from the green herb growing upon the white ſand. At half after two, with the ſame wind, we paſſed an iſland bearing eaſt from us, the Main about a league diſtant. At three we paſſed cloſe to an iſland bearing ſouth-weſt of us, about a mile off. It is of a moderate height, and is called *Jibbel Surreine*. At half paſt four our courſe was ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth; we paſſed two iſlands to the ſouth-eaſt of us, at two miles, and a ſmaller, weſt ſouth-weſt a quarter of a mile diſtant. From this to the Main will be about five miles, or ſomething more. At fifty minutes after four, came up to an iſland which reached to Konfodah. We ſaw to the weſt, and weſt ſouth-weſt of us, different ſmall iſlands, not more than half a mile diſtant. We heaved the line, and had no ſoundings at thirty-two fathom, yet, if any where, I thought there we were to find ſhoal water. At five o'clock, our courſe being ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth, we paſſed an iſland a quarter of a mile to the weſt of us, and afterwards a number of others in a row; and, at half paſt eight, we arrived at an anchoring-place, but which cannot be called a harbour, named *Merſa Hadou*.

THE 11th, we left Merſa Hadou at four o'clock in the morning. Being calm, we made little way; our courſe was ſouth ſouth-eaſt, which changed to a little more eaſterly. At ſix, we tacked to ſtand in for Konfodah harbour, which is very remarkable for a high mountain behind it, whoſe top is terminated by a pyramid or cone of very regular proportion. There was no wind to carry us in; we hoiſted out the boat which I had bought at Jidda for my

pleaſure and ſafety, intending it to be a preſent to my Rais at parting, as he very well knew. At a quarter paſt eight, we were towed to our anchorage in the harbour of Konfodah.

Konfodah means the town of the hedge-hog*. It is a ſmall village, conſiſting of about two hundred miſerable houſes, built with green wood, and covered with mats, made of the doom, or palm-tree; lying on a bay, or rather a ſhallow baſon, in a deſert waſte or plain. Behind the town are ſmall hillocks of white ſand. Nothing grows on ſhore excepting kelp, but it is exceedingly beautiful, and very luxuriant; farther in, there are gardens. Fiſh is in perfect plenty; butter and milk in great abundance; even the deſert looks freſher than other deſerts, which made me imagine that rain fell ſometimes here, and this the Emir told me was the caſe.

Although I made a draught of the port, it is not worth the publiſhing. For though in all probability it was once deep, ſafe, and convenient, yet there is nothing now but a kind of road, under ſhelter of a point, or ridge of land, which rounds out into the ſea, and ends in a Cape, called *Ras Mozeffa*. Behind the town there is another ſmall Cape, upon which there are three guns mounted, but with what intention it was not poſſible to gueſs.

The Emir Ferhan, governor of the town, was an Abyſſinian ſlave, who invited me on ſhore, and we dined together

* Or Porcupine.

on very excellent proviſion, dreſſed according to their cuſtom. He ſaid the country near the ſhore was deſert, but a little within land, or where the roots and gravel had fixed the ſand, the ſoil produced every thing, eſpecially if they had any ſhowers of rain. It was ſo long ſince I had heard mention of a ſhower of rain, that I could not help laughing, and he ſeemed to think that he had ſaid ſomething wrong, and begged ſo politely to know what I laughed at, that I was obliged to confeſs. "The reaſon, ſaid I, Sir, is an abſurd one. What paſſed in my mind at that time was, that I had travelled about two thouſand miles, and above twelve months, and had neither ſeen nor heard of a *ſhower of rain* till now, and though you will perceive by my converſation that I underſtand your language well, for a ſtranger, yet I declare to you, the moment you ſpoke it, had you aſked, what was the Arabic for a ſhower of rain, I could not have told you. I declare to you, upon my word, it was that which I laughed at, and upon no other account whatever." "You are going, ſays he, to countries where you will have rain and wind, ſufficiently cold, and where the water in the mountains is harder than the dry land, and people ſtand upon it *. We have only the remnant of their ſhowers, and it is to that we owe our greateſt happineſs."

I WAS very much pleaſed with his converſation. He ſeemed to be near fifty years of age, was exceedingly well dreſſed, had neither gun nor piſtol about him, not even a knife,

* Yemen, or the high land of Arabia Felix, where water freezes.

knife, nor an Arab ſervant armed, though they were all well dreſſed; but he had in his court-yard about threeſcore of the fineſt horſes I had for a long time ſeen. We dined juſt oppoſite to them, in a ſmall ſaloon ſtrowed with India carpets; the walls were covered with white tiles, which I ſuppoſe he had got from India; yet his houſe, without, was a very common one, diſtinguiſhed only from the reſt in the village by its ſize.

He ſeemed to have a more rational knowledge of things, and ſpoke more elegantly than any man I had converſed with in Arabia. He ſaid he had loſt the only ſeven ſons he had, in one month, by the ſmall-pox: And when I attempted to go away, he wiſhed I would ſtay with him ſome time, and ſaid, that I had better take up my lodgings in his houſe, than go on board the boat that night, where I was not perfectly in ſafety. On my ſeeming ſurpriſed at this, he told me, that laſt year, a veſſel from Maſcatte, on the Indian Ocean, had quarrelled with his people; that they had fought on the ſhore, and ſeveral of the crew had been killed; that they had obſtinately cruized in the neighbourhood, in hopes of repriſals, till, by the change of the monſoon, they had loſt their paſſage home, and ſo were neceſſarily confined to the Red Sea for ſix months afterwards; he added, they had four guns, which they called patareroes, and that they would certainly cut us off, as they could not miſs to fall in with us. This was the very worſt news that I had ever heard, as to what might happen at ſea. Before this, we thought all ſtrangers were our friends, and only feared the natives of the coaſt for enemies; now, upon a bare defenceleſs ſhore, we found ourſelves likely to be a prey to both natives and ſtrangers.

Our Rais, above all, was ſeized with a panic; his country was juſt adjoining to Maſcatte upon the Indian Ocean, and they were generally at war. He ſaid he knew well who they were, that there was no country kept in better order than Maſcatte; but that theſe were a ſet of pirates, belonging to the Bahareen; that their veſſels were ſtout, full of men, who carried incenſe to Jidda, and up as far as Madagaſcar; that they feared no man, and loved no man, only were true to their employers for the time. He imagined (I ſuppoſe it was but imagination,) that he had ſeen a veſſel in the morning, (a lug-ſail veſſel, as the pirate was deſcribed to be,) and it was with difficulty we could prevail on the Rais not to ſail back to Jidda. I took my leave of the Emir to return to my tent, to hold a conſultation what was to be done.

Konfodah is in the lat. 19° 7′ North. It is one of the moſt unwholeſome parts on the Red Sea, proviſion is very dear and bad, and the water, (contrary to what the Emir had told me) execrable. Goats fleſh is the only meat, and that very dear and lean. The anchorage, from the caſtle, bears north-weſt a quarter of a mile diſtant, from ten to ſeven fathoms, in ſand and mud.

On the 14th, our Rais, more afraid of dying by a fever than by the hands of the pirates, conſented willingly to put to ſea. The Emir's good dinners had not extended to the boat's crew, and they had been upon ſhort commons. The Rais's fever had returned ſince he left Jidda, and I gave him ſome doſes of bark, after which he ſoon recovered. But he was always complaining of hunger, which the black fleſh of an old goat, the Emir had given us, did not ſatisfy.

We

We ſailed at ſix o'clock in the morning, having firſt, by way of precaution, thrown all our ballaſt over-board, that we might run into ſhoal water upon the appearance of the enemy. We kept a good look-out toward the horizon all around us, eſpecially when we ſailed in the morning. I obſerved we became all fearleſs, and bold, about noon; but towards night the panic again ſeized us, like children that are afraid of ghoſts; though at that time we might have been ſure that all ſtranger veſſels were at anchor.

We had little wind, and paſſed between various rocks to the weſtward, continuing our courſe S. S. E. nearly, ſomewhat more eaſterly, and about three miles diſtant from the ſhore. At four o'clock, noon, we paſſed Jibbel Sabeia, a ſandy iſland, larger than the others, but no higher. To this iſland the Arabs of Ras Heli ſend their wives and children in time of war; none of the reſt are inhabited. At five we paſſed Ras Heli, which is the boundary between Yemen, or Arabia Felix, and the * Hejaz, or province of Mecca, the firſt belonging to the Imam, or king of Sana, the other to the Sherriffe lately ſpoken of.

I desired my Rais to anchor this night cloſe under the Cape, as it was perfectly calm and clear, and, by taking a mean of five obſervations of the paſſage of ſo many ſtars, the moſt proper for the purpoſe, over the meridian, I determined the latitude of Ras Heli, and conſequently the boundary of the

* Arabia Deſerta.

the two ſtates, Hejaz and Yemen, or Arabia Felix and Arabia Deſerta, to be 18° 36′ north.

The mountains reach here nearer to the ſea. We anchored a mile from the ſhore in 15 fathoms, the banks were ſand and coral; from this the coaſt is better inhabited. The principal Arabs to which the country belongs are Cotruſhi, Sebahi, Helali, Mauchlota, and Menjahi. Theſe are not Arabs by origin, but came from the oppoſite coaſt near Azab, and were *Shepherds*, who were ſtubborn enemies to Mahomet, but at laſt converted; they are black, and woolly-headed. The mountains and ſmall iſlands on the coaſt, farther inland to the eaſtward, are in poſſeſſion of the *Habib*. Theſe are white in colour, rebellious, or independent Arabs, who pay no ſort of obedience to the Imam, or the Sherriffe of Mecca, but occaſionally plunder the towns on the coaſt.

All the ſandy deſert at the foot of the mountains is called *Tehama*, which extends to Mocha. But in the maps it is marked as a ſeparate country from Arabia Felix, whereas it is but the low part, or ſea-coaſt of it, and is not a ſeparate juriſdiction. It is called *Tema* in ſcripture, and derives its name from *Taami* in Arabic, which ſignifies the ſea-coaſt. There is little water here, as it never rains; there is alſo no animal but the gazel or antelope, and but a few of them. There are few birds, and thoſe which may be found are generally mute.

The 15th, we ſailed with little wind, coaſting along the ſhore, ſometimes at two miles diſtance, and often leſs. The mountains now ſeemed high. I ſounded ſeveral times, and found no ground at thirty fathoms, within a mile of the ſhore.

ſhore. We paſſed ſeveral ports or harbours; firſt Merſa Amec, where there is good anchorage in eleven fathom of water, a mile and a half from the ſhore; at eight o'clock, Nohoude, with an iſland of the ſame name; at ten, a harbour and village called Dahaban. As the ſky was quite overcaſt, I could get no obſervation, though I watched very attentively. Dahaban is a large village, where there is both water and proviſion, but I did not ſee its harbour. It bore E. N. E. of us about three miles diſtant. At three quarters paſt eleven we came up to a high rock, called *Kotumbal*, and I lay to, for obſervation. It is of a dark-brown, approaching to red; is about two miles from the Arabian ſhore, and produces nothing. I found its latitude to be 17° 57′ north. A ſmall rock ſtands up at one end of the baſe of the mountain.

We came to an anchor in the port of Sibt, where I went aſhore under pretence of ſeeking proviſions, but in reality to ſee the country, and obſerve what ſort of people the inhabitants were. The mountains from Kotumbal ran in an even chain along the coaſt, at no great diſtance, but of ſuch a height, that as yet we had ſeen nothing like them. Sibt is too mean, and too ſmall to be called a village, even in Arabia. It conſiſts of about fifteen or twenty miſerable huts, built of ſtraw; around it there is a plantation of doom-trees, of the leaves of which they make mats and ſails, which is the whole manufacture of the place.

Our Rais made many purchaſes here. The *Cotruſhi*, the inhabitants of this village, ſeem to be as brutiſh a people as any in the world. They are perfectly lean, but muſcular, and apparently ſtrong; they wear all their own hair,

which they divide upon the crown of their head. It is black and buſhy, and, although ſufficiently long, ſeems to partake of the woolly quality of the Negro. Their head is bound round with a cord or fillet of the doom leaf, like the ancient diadem. The women are generally ill-favoured, and go naked like the men. Thoſe that are married have, for the moſt part, a rag about their middle, ſome of them not that. Girls of all ages go quite naked, but ſeem not to be conſcious of any impropriety in their appearance. Their lips, eye-brows, and foreheads above the eye-brow, are all marked with ſtibium, or antimony, the common ornament of ſavages throughout the world. They ſeemed to be perfectly on an equality with the men, walked, ſat, and ſmoked with them, contrary to the practice of all women among the Turks and Arabs.

We found no proviſions at Sibt, and the water very bad. We returned on board our veſſel at ſun-ſet, and anchored in eleven fathom, little leſs than a mile from the ſhore. About eight o'clock, two girls, not fifteen, ſwam off from the ſhore, and came on board. They wanted ſtibium for their eye-brows. As they had laboured ſo hard for it, I gave them a ſmall quantity, which they tied in a rag about their neck. I had killed three ſharks this day; one of them, very large, was lying on deck. I aſked them if they were not afraid of that fiſh? They ſaid, they knew it, but it would not hurt them, and deſired us to eat it, for it was good, and made men ſtrong. There appeared no ſymptoms of jealouſy among them. The harbour of Sibt is of a ſemicircular form, ſcreened between N. N. E. and S. S. W. but to the ſouth, and ſouth weſt, it is expoſed, and therefore is good only in ſummer.

The 16th, at five in the morning, we ſailed from the port of Sibt, but, the wind being contrary, were obliged to ſteer to the W. S. W. and it was not till nine o'clock we could reſume our true courſe, which was ſouth-eaſt. At half paſt four in the afternoon the main bore ſeven miles eaſt, when we paſſed an iſland a quarter of a mile in length, called *Jibbel Foran*, the Mountain of Mice. It is of a rocky quality, with ſome trees on the ſouth end, thence it riſes inſenſibly, and ends in a precipice on the north. At ſix, we paſſed the iſland * Deregé, low and covered with graſs, but round like a ſhield, which is the reaſon of its name. At half paſt ſix Ras Tarfa bore E. S. E. of us, diſtant about two miles; and at three quarters after ſix we paſſed ſeveral other iſlands, the largeſt of which is called *Saraffer*. It is covered with graſs, has ſmall trees upon it, and, probably, therefore water, but is uninhabited. At nine in the evening we anchored before Djezan.

Djezan is in lat. 16° 45′ north, ſituated on a cape, which forms one ſide of a large bay. It is built, as are all the towns on the coaſt, with ſtraw and mud. It was once a very conſiderable place for trade, but ſince coffee hath been ſo much in demand, of which they have none, that commerce is moved to Loheia and Hodeida. It is an uſurpation from the territory of the Imam, by a Sherriffe of the family of Beni Haſſan, called *Booariſh*. The inhabitants are all Sherriffes, in other terms, troubleſome, ignorant fanatics. Djezan is one of the towns moſt ſubject to fevers. The

* Der-gé, from that word in Hebrew.

Farenteit *, or worm, is very frequent here. They have great abundance of excellent fiſh, and fruit in plenty, which is brought from the mountains, whence alſo they are ſupplied with very good water,

The 17th, in the evening, we ſailed from Djezan; in the night we paſſed ſeveral ſmall villages called *Dueime*, which I found to be in lat. 16° 12′ 5″ north. In the morning, being three miles diſtant from the ſhore, we paſſed Cape Coſſerah, which forms the north ſide of a large Gulf. The mountains here are at no great diſtance, but they are not high. The whole country ſeems perfectly bare and deſert, without inhabitants. It is reported to be the moſt unwholeſome part of Arabia Felix.

On the 18th, at ſeven in the morning, we firſt diſcovered the mountains, under which lies the town of Loheia. Theſe mountains bore north north-eaſt of us, when anchored in three-fathom water, about five miles from the ſhore. The bay is ſo ſhallow, and the tide being at ebb, we could get no nearer; the town bore eaſt north-eaſt of us. Loheia is built upon the ſouth-weſt ſide of a peninſula, ſurrounded every where, but on the eaſt, by the ſea. In the middle of this neck there is a ſmall mountain which ſerves for a fortreſs, and there are towers with cannon, which reach acroſs on each ſide of the hill to the ſhore. Beyond this is a plain, where the Arabs intending to attack the town, generally aſſemble. The ground upon which Loheia ſtands is black earth,

* It ſignifies Pharaoh's worm.

earth, and ſeems to have been formed by the retiring of the ſea. At Loheia we had a very uneaſy ſenſation, a kind of prickling came into our legs, which were bare, occaſioned by the ſalt effluvia, or ſteams, from the earth, which all about the town, and further to the ſouth, is ſtrongly impregnated with that mineral.

Fish, and butcher meat, and indeed all ſorts of proviſion, are plentiful and reaſonable at Loheia, but the water is bad. It is found in the ſand at the foot of the mountains, down the ſides of which it has fallen in the time of the rain, and is brought to the town in ſkins upon camels. There is alſo plenty of fruit brought from the mountains by the Bedowé, who live in the ſkirts of the town, and ſupply it with milk, firewood, and fruit, chiefly grapes and bananas.

The government of the Imam is much more gentle than any Mooriſh government in Arabia or Africa; the people too are of gentler manners, the men, from early ages, being accuſtomed to trade. The women at Loheia are as ſolicitous to pleaſe as thoſe of the moſt poliſhed nations in Europe; and, though very retired, whether married or unmarried, they are not leſs careful of their dreſs and perſons. At home they wear nothing but a long ſhift of fine cotton-cloth, ſuitable to their quality. They dye their feet and hands with *henna, not only for ornament, but as an aſtringent, to keep them dry from ſweat: they wear their own hair, which is plaited, and falls in long tails behind.

* Liguſtrum Ægyptiacum Latifolium.

The Arabians conſider long and ſtraight hair as beautiful. The Abyſſinians prefer the ſhort and curled. The Arabians perfume themſelves and their ſhifts with a compoſition of muſk, ambergreaſe, incenſe, and benjoin, which they mix with the ſharp horny nails that are at the extremity of the fifh furrumbac; but why this ingredient is added I know not, as the ſmell of it, when burnt, does not at all differ from that of horn. They put all theſe ingredients into a kind of cenſer on charcoal, and ſtand over the ſmoke of it. The ſmell is very agreeable; but, in Europe, it would be a very expenſive article of luxury.

The Arab women are not black, there are even ſome exceedingly fair. They are more corpulent than the men, but are not much eſteemed.—The Abyſſinian girls, who are bought for money, are greatly preferred; among other reaſons, becauſe their time of bearing children is longer; few Arabian women have children after the age of twenty.

At Loheia we received a letter from Mahomet Gibberti, telling us, that it would yet be ten days before he could join us, and deſiring us to be ready by that time. This hurried us extremely, for we were much afraid we ſhould not have time to ſee the remaining part of the Arabian Gulf, to where it joins with the Indian Ocean.

On the 27th, in the evening, we parted from Loheia, but were obliged to tow the boat out. About nine, we anchored between an iſland called *Ormook*, and the land; about eleven we ſet ſail with a wind at north-eaſt, and paſſed a cluſter of iſlands on our left.

The

Arab of Loheia,
Tribe Beni Koreish.

Henry

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The 28th, at five o'clock in the morning, we ſaw the ſmall iſland of Raſab; at a quarter after ſix we paſſed between it and a large iſland called *Camaran*, where there is a Turkiſh garriſon and town, and plenty of good water. At twelve we paſſed a low round iſland, which ſeemed to conſiſt of white ſand. The weather being cloudy, I could get no obſervation. At one o'clock we were off Cape Iſrael.

As the weather was fair, and the wind due north and ſteady, though little of it, my Rais ſaid that we had better ſtretch over to Azab, than run along the coaſt in the direction we were now going, becauſe, ſomewhere between Hodeida and Cape Nummel, there was foul ground, with which he ſhould not like to engage in the night. Nothing could be more agreeable to me. For, though I knew the people of Azab were not to be truſted, yet there were two things I thought I might accompliſh, by being on my guard. The one was, to learn what thoſe ruins were that I had heard ſo much ſpoken of in Egypt and at Jidda, and which are ſuppoſed to have been works of the Queen of Sheba, whoſe country this was. The other was, to obtain the myrrh and frankincenſe-tree, which grow upon that coaſt only, but neither of which had as yet been deſcribed by any author.

At four o'clock we paſſed a dangerous ſhoal, which is the one I ſuppoſe our Rais was afraid of If ſo, he could not have adopted a worſe meaſure, than by ſtretching over from Cape Iſrael to Azab in the night; for, had the wind come weſterly, as it ſoon after did, we ſhould have probably been on the bank; as it was, we paſſed it ſomething leſs than a mile, the wind was north, and we were going at a great rate. At ſun-ſet we ſaw Jibbel Zekir, with three ſmall iſlands,

iſlands, on the north ſide of it. At twelve at night the wind failing, we found ourſelves about a league from the weſt end of Jibbel Zekir, but it then began to blow freſh from the weſt; ſo that the Rais begged liberty to abandon the voyage to Azab, and to keep our firſt intended one to Mocha. For my part, I had no deſire at all to land at Mocha. Mr Niebuhr had already been there before us; and I was ſure every uſeful obſervation had been made as to the country, for he had ſtaid there a very conſiderable time, and was ill uſed. We kept our courſe, however, upon Mocha town.

The 29th, about two o'clock in the morning, we paſſed ſix iſlands, called Jibbel el Ourèe; and having but indifferent wind, we anchored about nine off the point of the ſhoal, which lies immediately eaſt of the north fort of Mocha.

The town of Mocha makes an agreeable appearance from the ſea. Behind it there is a grove of palm-trees, that do not ſeem to have the beauty of thoſe in Egypt, probably owing to their being expoſed to the violent ſouth-weſters that blow here, and make it very uneaſy riding for veſſels; there is, however, very ſeldom any damage done. The port is formed by two points of land, which make a ſemi-circle. Upon each of the points is a ſmall fort; the town is in the middle, and if attacked by an enemy, theſe two forts are ſo detached that they might be made of more uſe to annoy the town, than they could ever be to defend the harbour. The ground for anchorage is of the very beſt kind, ſand without coral, which laſt chafes the cables all over the Red Sea.

On the 30th, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, with a gentle but ſteady wind at weſt, we ſailed for the mouth of the Indian

Indian Ocean. Our Rais became more lively and bolder as he approached his own coaſt, and offered to carry me for nothing, if I would go home with him to Sheher, but I had already enough upon my hand. It is, however, a voyage ſome man of knowledge and enterpriſe ſhould attempt, as the country and the manners of the people are very little known. But this far is certain, that there all the precious gums grow; all the drugs of the *galenical ſchool*, the frankincenſe, myrrh, benjoin, dragons-blood, and a multitude of others, the natural hiſtory of which no one has yet given us.

The coaſt of Arabia, all along from Mocha to the Straits, is a bold coaſt, cloſe to which you may run without danger night or day. We continued our courſe within a mile of the ſhore, where in ſome places there appeared to be ſmall woods, in others a flat bare country, bounded with mountains at a conſiderable diſtance. Our wind freſhened as we advanced. About four in the afternoon we ſaw the mountain which forms one of the Capes of the Straits of Babelmandeb, in ſhape reſembling a gunner's quoin. About ſix o'clock, for what reaſon I did not know, our Rais inſiſted upon anchoring for the night behind a ſmall point. I thought, at firſt, it had been for pilots.

The 31ſt, at nine in the morning, we came to an anchor above Jibbel Raban, or Pilots Iſland, juſt under the Cape which, on the Arabian ſide, forms the north entrance of the Straits. We now ſaw a ſmall veſſel enter a round harbour, divided from us by the Cape. The Rais ſaid he had a deſign to have anchored there laſt night; but as it was troubleſome to get out in the morning by the weſterly wind, he intended to run over to Perim iſland to paſs the night,

and give us an opportunity to make what obſervations we pleaſed in quiet.

We caught here a prodigious quantity of the fineſt fiſh that I had ever before ſeen, but the ſilly Rais greatly troubled our enjoyment, by telling us, that many of the fiſh in that part were poiſonous. Several of our people took the alarm, and abſtained; the rule I made uſe of in chooſing mine, was to take all thoſe that were likeſt the fiſh of our own northern ſeas, nor had I ever any reaſon to complain.

At noon, I made an obſervation of the ſun, juſt under the Cape of the Arabian ſhore, with a Hadley's quadrant, and found it to be in lat. 12° 38′ 30″, but by many paſſages of the ſtars, obſerved by my large aſtronomical quadrant in the iſland of Perim, all deductions made, I found the true latitude of the Cape ſhould be rather 12° 39′ 20″ north.

Perim is a low iſland, its harbour good, fronting the Abyſſinian ſhore. It is a barren, bare rock, producing, on ſome parts of it, plants of abſynthium, or rue, in others kelp, that did not ſeem to thrive; it was at this time perfectly ſcorched by the heat of the ſun, and had only a very faint appearance of having ever vegetated. The iſland itſelf is about five miles in length, perhaps more, and about two miles in breadth. It becomes narrower at both ends. Ever ſince we anchored at the Cape, it had begun to blow ſtrongly from the weſt, which gave our Rais great apprehenſion, as, he ſaid, the wind ſometimes continued in that point for fifteen days together. This alarmed me not a little, leaſt, by miſſing Mahomet Gibberti, we ſhould loſe our voyage. We had rice and butter, honey and flour.

The ſea afforded us plenty of fiſh, and I had no doubt but hunger would get the better of our fears of being poiſoned: with water we were likewiſe pretty well ſupplied, but all this was rendered uſeleſs by our being deprived of fire. In ſhort, though we could have killed twenty turtles a-day, all we could get to make fire of, were the rotten dry roots of the rue that we pulled from the clefts of the rock, which, with much ado, ſerved to make fire for boiling our coffee.

The 1ſt of Auguſt we ate drammock, made with cold water and raw flour, mixed with butter and honey, but we ſoon found this would not do, though I never was hungry, in my life, with ſo much good proviſion about me; for, beſides the articles already ſpoken of, we had two ſkins of wine from Loheia, and a ſmall jar of brandy, which I had kept expreſsly for a feaſt, to drink the King's health on arriving in his dominions, the *Indian Ocean*. I therefore propoſed, that, leaving the Rais on board, myſelf and two men ſhould croſs over to the ſouth ſide, to try if we could get any wood in the kingdom of Adel. This, however, did not pleaſe my companions. We were much nearer the Arabian ſhore, and the Rais had obſerved ſeveral people on land, who ſeemed to be fiſhers.

If the Abyſſinian ſhore was bad by its being deſert, the danger of the Arabian ſide was, that we ſhould fall into the hands of thieves. But the fear of wanting, even coffee, was ſo prevalent, and the repetition of the drammock doſe ſo diſguſting, that we reſolved to take a boat in the evening, with two men armed, and ſpeak to the people we had ſeen. Here again the Rais's heart failed him. He ſaid the inhabitants on that coaſt had fire-arms as well as we,

and they could bring a million together, if they wanted them, in a moment; therefore we ſhould forſake Perim iſland for the time, and, without hoiſting in the boat, till we ſaw further, run with the veſſel cloſe to the Arabian ſhore. There, it was conceived, armed as we were, with ammunition in plenty, we ſhould be able to defend ourſelves, if thoſe we had ſeen were pirates, of which I had not any ſuſpicion, as they had been eight hours in our ſight, without having made one movement nearer us; but I was the only perſon on board that was of that opinion.

Upon attempting to get our veſſel out, we found the wind ſtrong againſt us; ſo that we were obliged, with great difficulty and danger, to tow her round the weſt point, at the expence of many hard knocks, which ſhe got by the way. During this operation, the wind had calmed conſiderably; my quadrant, and every thing was on board; all our arms, new charged and primed, were laid, covered with a cloth, in the cabbin, when we found happily that the wind became due eaſt, and with the wind our reſolution changed. We were but twenty leagues to Mocha, and not above twenty-ſix from Azab, and we thought it better, rather to get on our return to Loheia, than to ſtay and live upon drammock, or fight with the pirates for firewood. About ſix o'clock, we were under weigh. The wind being perfectly fair, we carried as much ſail as our veſſel would bear, indeed, till her maſts nodded again. But before we begin the account of our return, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of theſe famous Straits, the communication between the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

This entrance begins to ſhew itſelf, or take a ſhape between two capes; the one on the continent of Africa, the other on the peninſula of Arabia. That on the African ſide is a high land, or cape, formed by a chain of mountains, which run out in a point far into the ſea. The Portugueſe, or Venetians, the firſt Chriſtian traders in thoſe parts, have called it *Gardefui*, which has no ſignification in any language. But, in that of the country where it is ſituated, it is called *Gardefan*, and means the *Straits of Burial*, the reaſon of which will be ſeen afterwards. The oppoſite cape is Fartack, on the eaſt coaſt of Arabia Felix, and the diſtance between them, in a line drawn acroſs from one to another, not above fifty leagues. The breadth between theſe two lands diminiſhes gradually for about 150 leagues, till at laſt it ends in the Straits, whoſe breadth does not ſeem to me to be above ſix leagues.

After getting within the Straits, the channel is divided into two, by the iſland of Perim, otherwiſe called *Mehun*. The inmoſt and northern channel, or that towards the Arabian ſhore, is two leagues broad at moſt, and from twelve to ſeventeen fathom of water. The other entry is three leagues broad, with deep water, from twenty to thirty fathom. From this, the coaſt on both ſides runs nearly in a north-weſt direction, widening as it advances, and the Indian Ocean grows ſtraiter. The coaſt upon the left hand is part of the kingdom of Adel, and, on the right, that of Arabia Felix. The paſſage on the Arabian ſhore, though the narroweſt and ſhalloweſt of the two, is that moſt frequently ſailed through, and eſpecially in the night; becauſe, if you do not round the ſouth-point of the iſland, as near as poſſible, in attempting to enter the broad one, but are going large with the

wind favourable, you fall in with a great number of low ſmall iſlands, where there is danger. At ten o'clock, with the wind fair, our courſe almoſt north-eaſt, we paſſed three rocky iſlands about a mile on our left.

On the 2d, at ſun-riſe, we ſaw land a-head, which we took to be the Main, but, upon nearer approach, and the day becoming clearer, we found two low iſlands to the leeward; one of which we fetched with great difficulty. We found there the ſtock of an old acacia-tree, and two or three bundles of wreck, or rotten ſticks, which we gathered with great care; and all of us agreed, we would eat breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper hot, inſtead of the cold repaſt we had made upon the drammock in the Straits. We now made ſeveral large fires; one took the charge of the coffee, another boiled the rice; we killed four turtles, made ready a dolphin; got beer, wine, and brandy, and drank the King's health in earneſt, which our regimen would not allow us to do in the Straits of Babelmandeb. While this good chear was preparing, I ſaw with my glaſs, firſt one man running along the coaſt weſtward, who did not ſtop; about a quarter of an hour after, another upon a camel, walking at the ordinary pace, who diſmounted juſt oppoſite to us, and, as I thought, kneeled down to ſay his prayers upon the ſand. We had launched our boat immediately upon ſeeing the trunk of the tree on the iſland; ſo we were ready, and I ordered two of the men to row me on ſhore, which they did.

It is a bay of but ordinary depth, with ſtraggling trees, and ſome flat ground along the coaſt. Immediately behind is a row of mountains of a browniſh or black colour. The man remained motionleſs, ſitting on the ground, till the boat

boat was aſhore, when I jumped out upon the ſand, being armed with a ſhort double-barrelled gun, a pair of piſtols, and a crooked knife. As ſoon as the ſavage ſaw me aſhore, he made the beſt of his way to his camel, and got upon his back, but did not offer to go away.

I SAT down on the ground, after taking the white turban off my head, and waving it ſeveral times in token of peace, and ſeeing that he did not ſtir, I advanced to him about a hundred yards. Still he ſtood, and after again waving to him with my hands, as inviting him to approach, I made a ſign as if I was returning to the ſhore. Upon ſeeing this, he advanced ſeveral paces, and ſtopt. I then laid my gun down upon the land, thinking that had frightened him, and walked up as near him as he would ſuffer me; that is, till I ſaw he was preparing to go away. I then waved my turban, and cried, *Salam, Salam.* He ſtaid till I was within ten yards of him. He was quite naked, was black, and had a fillet upon his head, either of a black or blue rag, and bracelets of white beads upon both his arms. He appeared as undetermined what to do. I ſpoke as diſtinctly to him as I could, *Salam Alicum.*—He anſwered ſomething like Salam, but what it was I know not. I am, ſaid I, a ſtranger from India, who came laſt from Tajoura in the bay of Zeyla, in the kingdom of Adel. He nodded his head, and ſaid ſomething in an unknown language, in which I heard the repetition of Tajoura and Adel. I told him I wanted water, and made a ſign of drinking. He pointed up the coaſt to the eaſtward, and ſaid, *Rabeeda*, then made a ſign of drinking, and ſaid *Tybe.* I now found that he underſtood me, and aſked him where Azab was? he pointed to a mountain juſt

juſt before him, and ſaid, Eh owah Azab Tybe, ſtill with a repreſentation of drinking.

I DEBATED with myſelf, whether I ſhould not take this ſavage priſoner. He had three ſhort javelins in his hand, and was mounted upon a camel. I was on foot, and above the ancles in ſand, with only two piſtols, which, whether they would terrify him to ſurrender or not, I did not know; I ſhould, otherwiſe, have been obliged to have ſhot him, and this I did not intend. After having invited him as courteouſly as I could, to the boat, I walked towards it myſelf, and, in the way, took up my firelock, which was lying hid among the ſand. I ſaw he did not follow me a ſtep, but when I had taken the gun from the ground, he ſet off at a trot as faſt as he could, to the weſtward, and we preſently loſt him among the trees.

I RETURNED to the boat, and then to dinner on the iſland, which we named Traitor's Iſland, from the ſuſpicious behaviour of that only man we had ſeen near it. This excurſion loſt me the time of making my obſervation; all the uſe I made of it was to gather ſome ſticks and camel's dung, which I heaped up, and made the men carry to the boat, to ſerve us for firing, if we ſhould be detained. The wind was very fair, and we got under weigh by two o'clock.

ABOUT four we paſſed a rocky iſland with breakers on its ſouth end, we left it about a mile to the windward of us. The Rais called it Crab-iſland. About five o'clock we came to an anchor cloſe to a cape of no height, in a ſmall bay, in three fathom of water, and leaving a ſmall iſland juſt on our ſtern. We had not anchored here above ten minutes, before

before an old man and a boy came down to us. As they had no arms, I went aſhore, and bought a ſkin of water. The old man had a very thieviſh appearance, was quite naked, and laughed or ſmiled at every word he ſaid. He ſpoke Arabic, but very badly; told me there was great plenty of every thing in the country whither he would carry me. He ſaid, moreover, that there was a king there, and a people that loved ſtrangers.

The murder of the boat's crew of the Elgin Eaſt-Indiaman, in that very ſpot where he was then ſitting and praiſing his countrymen, came preſently into my mind. I found my hand involuntarily take hold of my piſtol, and I was, for the only time in my life, ſtrongly tempted to commit murder. I thought I ſaw in the looks of that old vagrant, one of thoſe who had butchered ſo many Engliſhmen in cold blood.

From his readineſs to come down, and being ſo near the place, it was next to impoſſible that he was not one of the party. A little reflection, however, ſaved his life; and I aſked him if he could ſell us a ſheep, when he ſaid they were coming. Theſe words put me on my guard, as I did not know how many people might accompany them. I therefore deſired him to bring me the water to the boat, which the boy accordingly did, and we paid him, in cohol, or ſtibium, to his wiſhes.

Immediately upon this I ordered them to put the boat afloat, demanding, all the time, where were the ſheep? A few minutes afterwards, four ſtout young men came down, dragging after them two lean goats, which the old man main-

maintained to me were ſheep. Each man had three light javelins in his hand, and they began to wrangle exceedingly about the animals, whether they were ſheep or goats, though they did not ſeem to underſtand one word of our language, but the words *ſheep* and *goat* in Arabic. In five minutes after, their number increaſed to eleven, and I thought it was then full time for me to go on board, for every one of them ſeemed, by his diſcourſe and geſtures, to be violently agitated, but what they ſaid I could not comprehend. I drew to the ſhore, and then put myſelf on board as ſoon as poſſible. They ſeemed to keep at a certain diſtance, crying out *Belled, belled!* and pointing to the land, invited me to come aſhore; the old hypocrite alone ſeemed to have no fear, but followed me cloſe to the boat. I then reſolved to have a free diſcourſe with him. "There is no need, ſaid I to the old man, to ſend for thirteen men to bring two goats. We bought the water from people that had no lances, and we can do without the ſheep, though we could not want the water, therefore, every man that has a lance in his hand let him go away from me, or I will fire upon him."

They ſeemed to take no ſort of notice of this, and came rather nearer. "You old-grey headed traitor, ſaid I, do you think I don't know what you want, by inviting me on ſhore; let all thoſe about you with arms go home about their buſineſs, or I will in a minute blow them all off the face of the earth. He then jumped up, with rather more agility than his age ſeemed to promiſe, and went to where the others were ſitting in a cluſter, and after a little converſation the whole of them retired.

The old fellow and the boy now came down without fear to the boat, when I gave them tobacco, ſome beads, and antimony, and did every thing to gain the father's confidence. But he ſtill ſmiled and laughed, and I ſaw clearly he had taken his reſolution. The whole burden of his ſong was, to perſuade me to come on ſhore, and he mentioned every inducement, and all the kindneſs that he would ſhew me. "It is fit, you old rogue, ſaid I, that, now your life is in my hands, you ſhould know how much better men there are in the world than you. They were my *countrymen*, eleven or twelve of whom you murdered about three years ago, in the very place where you are now ſitting, and though I could have killed the ſame number to-day, without any danger to myſelf, I have not only let them go away, but have bought and ſold with you, and given you preſents, when, according to your own law, I ſhould have killed both you and your ſon. Now do not imagine, knowing what I know, that ever you ſhall decoy me aſhore; but if you will bring me a branch of the myrrh tree, and of the incenſe tree tomorrow, I will give you two fonduclis for each of them." He ſaid, he would do it that night. "The ſooner the better, ſaid I, for it is now becoming dark." Upon this he ſent away his boy, who in leſs than a quarter of an hour came back with a branch in his hand.

I could not contain my joy, I ordered the boat to be drawn upon the ſhore, and went out to receive it; but, to my great diſappointment, I found that it was a branch of Acacia, or Sunt, which we had every where met with in Egypt, Syria, and Arabia. I told him, this was of no uſe, repeating the word *Gerar*, *Saiél*, *Sunt*. He anſwered Eh owah *Saiél;* but being aſked for the myrrh (mour), he ſaid it was far up

in the mountains, but would bring it to me if I would go to the town. Providence, however, had dealt more kindly with us in the moment than we expected. For, upon going aſhore out of eagerneſs to get the myrrh, I ſaw, not a quarter of a mile from us, ſitting among the trees, at leaſt thirty men, armed with javelins, who all got up the moment they ſaw me landed. I called to the boatmen to ſet the boat afloat, which they immediately did, and I got quickly on board, near up to the middle in water; but as I went by the old man, I gave him ſo violent a blow upon the face with the thorny branch in my hand, that it felled him to the ground. The boy fled, and we rowed off; but before we took leave of theſe traitors, we gave them a diſcharge of three blunderbuſſes loaded with piſtol-ſhot, in the direction where, in all probability, they were lying to ſee the boat go off.

I DIRECTED the Rais to ſtand out towards Crab-iſland, and there being a gentle breeze from the ſhore, carrying an eaſy ſail, we ſtood over upon Mocha town, to avoid ſome rocks or iſlands, which he ſaid were to the weſtward. While lying at Crab-iſland, I obſerved two ſtars paſs the meridian, and by them I concluded the latitude of that iſland to be 13° 2′ 45″ North.

THE wind continuing moderate, but more to the ſouthward, at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d, we paſſed Jibbel el Ourèe, then Jibbel Zekir; and having a ſteady gale, with fair and moderate weather, paſſing to the weſtward of the iſland Raſab, between that and ſome other iſlands to the north-eaſt, where the wind turned contrary, we arrived at Loheia, the 6th, in the morning, being the third

third day from the time we quitted Azab. We found every thing well on our arrival at Loheia; but no word of Mahomet Gibberti, and I began now to be uneaſy. The rains in Abyſſinia were to ceaſe the 6th of next month, September, and then was the proper time for our journey to Gondar.

The only money in the country of the * Imam, is a ſmall piece leſs than a ſixpence, and by this the value of all the different denominations of foreign coin is aſcertained. It has four names, Commeſh, Loubia, Muchſota, and Harf, but the firſt two of theſe are moſt commonly uſed.

This money is very baſe adulterated ſilver, if indeed there is any in it. It has the appearance of pewter; on the one ſide is written *Olmaſs*, the name of the Imam; on the other, *Emir el Moumeneen*, Prince of the Faithful, or True Believers; a title, firſt taken by Omar after the death of Abou Beer; and ſince, borne by all the legitimate Caliphs. There are likewiſe Half-commeſhes, and theſe are the ſmalleſt ſpecie current in Yemen.

1 VENETIAN SEQUIN, - - - - - -	90	COMMESHES.
1 FONDUCLI, - - - - - - - - -	80	
1 BARBARY SEQUIN, - - - - -	80	
1 PATAKA, *or* IMPERIAL DOLLAR,	40	

When the Indian merchants or veſſels are here, the fonducli is raiſed three commeſhes more, though all ſpecie is

 ſcarce

* Arabia Felix, or Yemen.

ſcarce in the Imam's country, notwithſtanding the quantity continually brought hither for coffee, in ſilver patakas, that is, dollars, which is the coin in which purchaſes of any amount are paid. When they are to be changed into commeſhes, the changer or broker gives you but 39 inſtead of 40, ſo he gains $2\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* for all money he changes, that is, by giving bad coin for good.

The long meaſure in Yemen is the peek of Stamboul, as they call it; but, upon meaſuring it with a ſtandard of a Stamboul peek, upon a braſs rod made on purpoſe, I found it $26\frac{5}{8}$ inches, which is neither the Stambouline peek, the Hendaizy peek, nor the el Belledy peek. The peek of Stamboul is $23\frac{3}{5}$ inches, ſo this of Loheia is a diſtinct peek, which may be called *Yemani.

The weights of Loheia are the rotolo, which are of two ſorts, one of 140 drachms, and uſed in ſelling fine, the other 160 drachms, for ordinary and coarſer goods. This laſt is divided into 16 ounces, each ounce into 10 drachms; 100 of theſe rotolos are a *kantar*, or *quintal*. The quintal of Yemen, carried to Cairo or Jidda, is 113 rotolo, becauſe the rotolo of theſe places is 144 drachms. Their weights appear to be of Italian origin, and were probably brought hither when the Venetians carried on this trade. There is another weight, called *faranzala*, which I take to be the native one of the country. It is equal to 20 rotolo, of 160 drachms each.

The

* That is, the Peek of Arabia Felix, or Yemen.

The cuſtoms, which at Mocha are three *per cent.* upon India goods, are five here, when brought directly from India; but all goods whatever, brought from Jidda by merchants, whether Turks or natives, pay ſeven *per cent.* at Loheia.

Loheia is in lat. 15° 40′ 52″ north, and in long. 42° 58′ 15″ eaſt of the meridian of Greenwich.---The barometer, at its higheſt on the 7th day of Auguſt, was 26° 9′, and its loweſt 26° 1′, on the 30th of July.---The thermometer, when at its higheſt, was 99° on the 30th of the ſame month, wind north-eaſt; and its loweſt was 81° on the 9th of Auguſt, wind ſouth by eaſt.

On the 31ſt of Auguſt, at four o'clock in the morning, I ſaw a comet for the firſt time. The head of it was ſcarcely viſible in the teleſcope, that is, its preciſe form, which was a pale indiſtinct luminous body, whoſe edges were not at all defined. Its tail extended full 20°. It ſeemed to be a very thin vapour, for through it I diſtinguiſhed ſeveral ſtars of the fifth magnitude, which ſeemed to be increaſed in ſize. The end of its tail had loſt all its fiery colour, and was very thin and white. I could diſtinguiſh no nucleus, nor any part that ſeemed redder or deeper than the reſt; for all was a dim-ill-defined ſpot. At $4^{hrs.}$ 1′ 24″, on the morning of the 31ſt, it was diſtant 20° 40′ from Rigel; its tail extended to three ſtars in Eridanus.

The 1ſt of September Mahomet Gibberti arrived, bringing with him the firman for the Naybe of Maſuah, and letters from Metical Aga to *Ras Michael. He alſo brought a letter

* Governor of the Province of Tigré in Abyſſinia.

a letter to me, and another to Achmet, the Naybe's nephew, and future ſucceſſor, from Sidi Ali Zimzimia, that is, 'the keeper of Iſhmael's well at Mecca, called *Zimzim*.' In this letter, Sidi Ali deſires me to put little truſt in the Naybe, but to keep no ſecret from Achmet his nephew, who would certainly be my friend.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Sails for Maſuah—Paſſes a Volcano—Comes to Dahalac—Troubled with a Ghoſt—Arrives at Maſuah.

ALL being prepared for our departure, we ſailed from Loheia on the 3d of September 1769, but the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the veſſel out upon her anchors. The harbour of Loheia, which is by much the largeſt in the Red Sea, is now ſo ſhallow, and choked up, that, unleſs by a narrow canal through which we enter and go out, there is no where three fathom of water, and in many places not half that depth. This is the caſe with all the harbours on the eaſt-coaſt of the Red Sea, while thoſe on the weſt are deep, without any banks or bars before them, which is probably owing, as I have already ſaid, to the violence of the north-weſt winds, the only conſtant ſtrong winds to be met with in this Gulf. Theſe occaſion ſtrong currents to ſet in upon the eaſt-coaſt, and heap up the ſand and gravel which is blown in from Arabia.

ALL next day, the 4th, we were employed at warping out our veſſel againſt a contrary wind. The 5th, at three quarters paſt five in the morning, we got under ſail with little wind.

wind. At half paſt nine, Loheia bore eaſt north-eaſt about four leagues diſtant; and here we came in ſight of ſeveral ſmall, barren, and uninhabited iſlands. Booariſh bore ſouth-weſt two miles off; Zebid one mile and a half diſtant, eaſt and by north; Amar, the ſmalleſt of all, one mile ſouth; and Ormook, ſouth-eaſt by eaſt two miles.

The Arabs of the mountain, who had attempted to ſurpriſe Loheia in the ſpring, now prepared for another attack againſt it, and had advanced within three days journey. This obliged the Emir to draw together all his troops from the neighbourhood; all the camels were employed to lay in an extraordinary ſtock of water.

Our Rais, who was a ſtranger, and without connections in this place, found himſelf under great difficulties to provide water enough for the voyage, for we had but a ſcanty proviſion left, and though our boat was no more than ſixty feet long, we had about forty people on board of her. I had indeed hired the veſſel for myſelf, but gave the Rais leave to take ſome known people paſſengers on board, as it was very dangerous to make enemies in the place to which I was going, by fruſtrating any perſon of his voyage home, even though I paid for the boat, and ſtill as dangerous to take a perſon unknown, whoſe end in the voyage might be to defeat my deſigns. We were reſolved, therefore, to bear away for an iſland to the northward, where they ſaid the water was both good, and in plenty.

In the courſe of this day, we paſſed ſeveral ſmall iſlands, and, in the evening, anchored in ſeven fathom and a half of water, near a ſhoal diſtant four leagues from Loheia. We

there obſerved the bearings and diſtances of ſeveral iſlands, with which we were engaged; Fooſht, W.b.N.¼ north, four leagues; Baccalan N.W.b.W. three leagues; Baida, a large high rock above the water, with white ſteep cliffs, and a great quantity of ſea-fowl; Djund, and Mufracken, two large rocks off the weſt point off Baccalan, W.N.W.¼ weſt, eleven miles; they appear, at a diſtance, like a large heap of ruins: Umſegger, a very ſmall iſland, nearly level with the water, W.N.W.¼ weſt four miles diſtant; Nachel, S.E.¼E. one league off; Ajerb S.E.b.E.½ ſouth, two leagues; Surbat, an iſland S.E.b.E.¾ ſouth, diſtant ten miles; it has a marabout or Shekh's tomb upon it: Dahu and Dee, two ſmall iſlands, cloſe together, N.W.¼ weſt, about eleven miles diſtant; Djua S.E.½ ſouth; it is a ſmall white iſland four leagues and a half off: Sahar, W.¼ north, nine miles off.

On the 6th, we got under ſail at five o'clock in the morning. Our water had failed us as we foreſaw, but in the evening we anchored at Fooſht, in two fathoms water eaſt of the town, and here ſtaid the following day, our ſailors being employed in filling our ſkins with water, for they make no uſe of caſks in this ſea.

Fooshт is an iſland of irregular form. It is about five miles from ſouth to north, and about nine in circumference. It abounds in good fiſh. We did not uſe our net, as our lines more than ſupplied us. There were many kinds, painted with the moſt beautiful colours in the world, but I always obſerved, the more beautiful they were, the worſe for eating. There were indeed none good but thoſe that reſembled the fiſh of the north in their form, and plainneſs of their colours. Fooſht is low and ſandy on the ſouth, and

on the north is a black hill or cape of no conſiderable height, that may be ſeen at four leagues off. It has two watering-places; one on the eaſt of the iſland, where we now were, the other on the weſt. The water there is bitter, but it had been troubled by a number of little barks, that had been taking in water juſt before us. The manner of filling their goat ſkins being a very ſlovenly one, they take up much of the mud along with it, but we found the water excellent, after it had ſettled two or three days; when it came on board, it was as black as ink. It was incomparably the beſt water we had drank ſince that of the Nile.

This iſland is covered with a kind of bent graſs, which want of rain, and the conſtant feeding of the few goats that are kept here, prevent from growing to any height. The end of the iſland, near the north cape, ſounds very hollow, underneath, like Solfaterra, near Naples; and as quantities of pumice ſtones are found here, there is great appearance that the black hill was once a volcano. Several large ſhells from the fiſh called Biſſer, ſome of them twenty inches long, are ſeen turned upon their faces, on the ſurface of large ſtones, of ten or twelve ton weight. Theſe ſhells are ſunk into the ſtones, as if they were into paſte, and the ſtone raiſed round about, ſo as to conceal the edge of the ſhell; a proof that this ſtone has, ſome time lately, been ſoft or liquified. For, had it been long ago, the weather and ſun would have worn the ſurface of the ſhell, but it ſeems perfectly entire, and is ſet in that hard brown rock, as the ſtone of a ring is in a golden chaſing.

The inhabitants of Fooſht are poor fiſhermen, of the ſame degree of blackneſs as thoſe between Heli and Djezan; like them

them too, they were naked, or had only a rag about their waiſt. Their faces are neither ſtained nor painted. They catch a quantity of fiſh called Seajan, which they carry to Loheia, and exchange for Dora and Indian corn, for they have no bread, but what is procured this way. They alſo have a flat fiſh, with a long tail to it, whoſe ſkin is a ſpecies of ſhagreen, with which the handles of knives and ſwords are made. Pearls too are found here, but neither large nor of a good water, on the other hand, they are not dear; they are the produce of various ſpecies of ſhells, all Bivalves *.

The town conſiſts of about thirty huts, built with faggots of bent graſs or ſpartum, and theſe are ſupported within with a few ſticks, and thatched with the graſs, of which they are built. The inhabitants ſeemed to be much terrified at ſeeing us come a-ſhore all armed; this was not done out of fear of them, but, as we intended to ſtay on ſhore all night, we wiſhed to be in a ſituation to defend ourſelves againſt boats of ſtrollers from the main. The ſaint, or Marabout, upon ſeeing me paſs near him, fell flat upon his face, where he lay for a quarter of an hour; nor would he get up till the guns, which I was told had occaſioned his fears, were ordered by me to be immediately ſent on board.

On the 7th, by an obſervation of the meridian altitude of the ſun, I found the latitude of Fooſht to be 15° 59′ 43″ north. There are here many beautiful ſhell-fiſh; the concha veneris, of ſeveral ſizes and colours, as alſo ſea urchins,

* See the article Pearl in the Appendix.

or ſea-eggs. I found, particularly, one of the pentaphylloid kind, of a very particular form. Spunges of the common ſort are likewiſe found all along this coaſt. The bearings and diſtances of the principal iſlands from Fooſht are:

Baccalan, and the two rocks Djund and Mufracken,	E. N. E.	4 miles.
Baida rock,	E. by N.	4 miles.
Sahar,	S. E.	3 do.
Ardaina,	W. N. W.	8 do.
Aideen,	N. ½ E.	9 do.

Baccalan is an iſland, low, long, and as broad as Fooſht, inhabited by fiſhermen; without water in ſummer, which is then brought from Fooſht, but in winter they preſerve the rain-water in ciſterns. Theſe were built in ancient times, when this was a place of importance for the fiſhing of pearls, and they are in perfect repair to this day; neither the cement of the work, nor the ſtucco within, having at all ſuffered. Very violent ſhowers fall here from the end of October to the beginning of March, but at certain intervals.

All the iſlands on this eaſt-ſide of the channel belong to the Sherriffe Djezan Bocariſh, but none are inhabited except Baccalan and Fooſht. This laſt iſland is the moſt convenient watering-place for ſhips, bound up the channel from Jibbel Teir, from which it bears N. E. by E. ¾ E. by the compaſs, nineteen leagues diſtant. It ſhould be remembered, however, that the weſtern watering-place is moſt eligible, becauſe, in that caſe, navigators need not engage themſelves among the iſlands to the eaſtward, where they will have uneven foundings two leagues from the land; but, though they

they ſhould fall to the eaſtward of this iſland, they will have good anchorage, from nine to eighteen fathoms water; the bottom being good ſand, between the town and the white rock Baida.

Having ſupplied our great and material want of water, we all repaired on board in the evening of the 7th; we then found ourſelves unprovided with another neceſſary, namely fire; and my people began to remember how cold our ſtomachs were from the drammock at Babelmandeb. Firewood is a very ſcarce article in the Red Sea. It is, nevertheleſs, to be found in ſmall quantities, and in ſuch only it is uſed. *Z*immer, an iſland to the northward, was known to afford ſome; but, from the time I had landed at Fooſht, on the 6th, a trouble of a very particular kind had fallen upon our veſſel, of which I had no account till I had returned on board.

An Abyſſinian, who had died on board, and who had been buried upon our coming out from Loheia bay, had been ſeen upon the boltſprit for two nights, and had terrified the ſailors very much; even the Rais had been not a little alarmed; and, though he could not directly ſay that he had ſeen him, yet, after I was in bed on the 7th, he complained ſeriouſly to me of the bad conſequences it would produce if a gale of wind was to riſe, and the ghoſt was to keep his place there, and deſired me to come forward and ſpeak to him. "My good Rais," ſaid I, "I am exceedingly tired, and my head achs much with the ſun, which hath been violent to-day. You know the Abyſſinian paid for his paſſage, and, if he does not overload the ſhip, (and I apprehend he ſhould be lighter than when we took him on board)

I do not think, that in juſtice or equity, either you or I can hinder the ghoſt from continuing his voyage to Abyſſinia, as we cannot judge what ſerious buſineſs he may have there." The Rais began to bleſs himſelf that he did not know any thing of his affairs.---" Then, ſaid I," " if you do not find he makes the veſſel too heavy before, do not moleſt him; becauſe, certainly if he was to come into any other part of the ſhip, or if he was to inſiſt to ſit in the middle of you (in the diſpoſition that you all are) he would be a greater inconvenience to you than in his preſent poſt." The Rais began again to bleſs himſelf, repeating a verſe of the *Koran;* " biſmilla ſheitan rejem," in the name of God keep the devil far from me. " Now, Rais," ſaid I, " if he does us no harm, you will let him ride upon the boltſprit till he is tired, or till he comes to Maſuah, for I ſwear to you, unleſs he hurts or troubles us, I do not think I have any obligation to get out of my bed to moleſt him, only ſee that he carries nothing off with him.

The Rais now ſeemed to be exceedingly offended, and ſaid, for his part he did not care for his life more than any other man on board; if it was not from fear of a gale of wind, he might ride on the boltſprit and be d——n'd; but that he had always heard learned people could ſpeak to ghoſts. Will you be ſo good, Rais, ſaid I, to ſtep forward, and tell him, that I am going to drink coffee, and ſhould be glad if he would walk into the cabbin, and ſay any thing he has to communicate to me, if he is a Chriſtian, and if not, to Mahomet Gibberti. The Rais went out, but, as my ſervant told me, he would neither go himſelf, nor could get any perſon to go to the ghoſt for him. He came back, however, to drink coffee with me. I was very ill, and ap-

preſſenſive of what the French call a *Coup de ſoleil.* "Go, ſaid I to the Rais, to Mahomet Gibberti, who was lying juſt before us, tell him that I am a Chriſtian, and have no juriſdiction over ghoſts in theſe ſeas."

A MOOR called *Yaſine*, well known to me afterwards, now came forward, and told me, that Mahomet Gibberti had been very bad ever ſince we ſailed, with ſea-ſickneſs, and begged that I would not laugh at the ſpirit, or ſpeak ſo familiarly of him, becauſe it might very poſſibly be the devil, who often appeared in theſe parts. The MOOR alſo deſired I would ſend Gibberti ſome coffee, and order my ſervant to boil him ſome rice with freſh water from Fooſht; for hitherto our fiſh and our rice had been boiled in ſea water, which I conſtantly preferred. This bad news of my friend Mahomet baniſhed all merriment, I gave therefore the neceſſary orders to my ſervant to wait upon him, and at the ſame time recommended to Yaſine to go forward with the Koran in his hand, and read all night, or till we ſhould get to Zimmer, and then, or in the morning, bring me an account of what he had ſeen.

THE 8th, early in the morning, we ſailed from Fooſht, but the wind being contrary, we did not arrive at our deſtination till near mid-day, when we anchored in an open road about half a mile from the iſland, for there is no harbour in Baccalan, Fooſht, nor Zimmer. I then took my quadrant, and went with the boat aſhore, to gather wood. Zimmer is a much ſmaller iſland than Fooſht, without inhabitants, and without water; though, by the ciſterns which ſtill remain, and are ſixty yards ſquare, hewed out of the ſolid rock, we may imagine this was once a place of conſe-

quence:

quence: rain in abundance, at certain ſeaſons, ſtill falls there. It is covered with young plants of rack tree, whoſe property it is, as I have already ſaid, to vegetate in ſalt water. The old trees had been cut down, but there was a conſiderable number of Saiel, or Acacia trees, and of theſe we were in want.

Although Zimmer is ſaid to be without water, yet there are antelopes upon it, as alſo hyænas in number, and it is therefore probable that there is water in ſome ſubterraneous caves or clefts of the rocks, unknown to the Arabs or fiſhermen, without which theſe animals could not ſubſiſt. It is probable the antelopes were brought over from Arabia for the Sherriffe's pleaſure, or thoſe of his friends, if they did not ſwim from the main, and an enemy afterwards brought the hyæna to diſappoint that amuſement. Be that as it will, though I did not myſelf ſee the animals, yet I obſerved the dung of each of them upon the ſand, and in the ciſterns; ſo the fact does not reſt wholly upon the veracity of the boatman. We found at Zimmer plenty of the large ſhell fiſh called Biſſer and Surrumbac, but no other. I found Zimmer, by an obſervation of the ſun at noon, to be in lat. 16° 7′ North, and from it we obſerved the following bearings and diſtances.

Sahaanah, - -	diſt.	9	miles, - -	S. by W.
Fooſlht, - - -	do.	8	do. - -	N.W. by N.$\frac{1}{4}$ W.
Aideen, - - -	do.	7	do. - -	E.
Ardaina, - -	do.	2	do. - -	E. by S.
Rahha. - -	do.	6	do. - -	N. W.$\frac{1}{4}$ N.
Doohaarab -	do.	21	do. - -	W. N. W.$\frac{1}{4}$ W.

We

We ſailed in the night from Zimmer. When we came nearer the channel, the iſlands were fewer, and we had never leſs than twenty-five fathom water. The wind was conſtantly to the north and weſt, and, during all the heat of the day, N. N. W. At the ſame time we had viſibly a ſtrong current to the northward.

The 9th, at ſix o'clock in the morning, the iſland Rapha bore N. E. by eaſt, diſtant about two leagues, and in the ſame direction we ſaw the tops of very high mountains in Arabia Felix, which we imagined to be thoſe above Djezan; and though theſe could not be leſs than twenty-ſix leagues diſtance, yet I diſtinguiſhed their tops plainly, ſome minutes before ſun-riſe. At noon I obſerved our latitude to be 16° 10′ 3″ north, ſo we had made very little way this day, it being for the moſt part calm. Rapha then bore E.¼ north, diſtant thirteen miles, and Doohaarab N. N. W. five miles off. We continued under ſail all the evening, but made little way, and ſtill leſs during the night.

On the 10th, at ſeven in the morning, I firſt ſaw Jibbel Teir, till then it had been covered with a miſt. I ordered the pilot to bear down directly upon it. All this forenoon our veſſel had been ſurrounded with a prodigious number of ſharks. They were of the hammer-headed kind, and two large ones ſeemed to vie with each other which ſhould come neareſt our veſſel. The Rais had fitted a large, harpoon with a long line for the large fiſh in the channel, and I went to the boltſprit to wait for one of the ſharks, after having begged the Rais, firſt to examine if all was tight there, and if the ghoſt had done it no harm by ſitting ſo many nights upon it. He ſhook his head, laughing, and

ſaid, " The ſharks ſeek ſomething more ſubſtantial than ghoſts." " If I am not miſtaken, Rais, ſaid I, this ghoſt ſeeks ſomething more ſubſtantial too, and you ſhall ſee the end of it."

I STRUCK the largeſt ſhark about a foot from the head with ſuch force, that the whole iron was buried in his body. He ſhuddered, as a perſon does when cold, and ſhook the ſhaft of the harpoon out of the ſocket, the weapon being made ſo on purpoſe ; the ſhaft fell acroſs, kept fixt to the line, and ſerved as a float to bring him up when he dived, and impeded him when he ſwam. No ſalmon fiſher ever ſaw finer ſport with a fiſh and a rod. He had thirty fathom of line out, and we had thirty fathom more ready to give him. He never dived, but ſailed round the veſſel like a ſhip, always keeping part of his back above water. The Rais, who directed us, begged we would not pull him, but give him as much more line as he wanted; and indeed we ſaw it was the weight of the line that galled him, for he went round the veſſel without ſeeking to go farther from us. At laſt he came nearer, upon our gathering up the line, and upon gently pulling it after, we brought him alongſide, till we faſtened a ſtrong boat-hook in his throat: a man ſwung upon a cord was now let down to cut his tail, while hanging on the ſhip's ſide, but he was, if not abſolutely dead, without the power of doing harm. He was eleven feet ſeven inches from his ſnout to his tail, and nearly four feet round in the thickeſt part of him. He had in him a dolphin very lately ſwallowed, and about half a yard of blue cloth. He was the largeſt, the Rais ſaid, he had ever ſeen, either in the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean.

About twenty minutes before twelve o'clock we were about four leagues diſtant from the iſland, as near as I could judge upon a parallel. Having there taken my obſervation, and all deductions made, I concluded the latitude of the north end of Jibbel Teir to be 15° 38′ north; thirty-two leagues weſt longitude from Loheia, fifty-three eaſt longitude from Maſuah, and forty-ſix leagues eaſt of the meridian of Jidda. Jibbel Teir, or the Mountain of the Bird, is called by others, Jibbel Douhan, or the Mountain of Smoke. I imagine that the ſame was the origin of our name of * *Gibraltar*, rather than from *Tarik*, who firſt landed in Spain; and one of my reaſons is, that ſo conſpicuous a mountain, near, and immediately in the face of the moors of Barbary, muſt have been known by ſome name, long before Tarik with his Arabs made his deſcent into Spain.

The reaſon of its being called Jibbel Douhan, the Mountain of Smoke, is, that though, in the middle of the ſea, it is a volcano, which throws out fire, and though nearly extinguiſhed, ſmokes to this day. It probably has been the occaſion of the creation of great part of the neighbouring iſlands. Did it burn now, it would be of great uſe to ſhipping in the night, but in the earlieſt hiſtory of the trade of that ſea, no mention is made of it, as in a ſtate of conflagration. It was called *Orneón* in Ptolemy, the Bird-Iſland, the ſame as Jibbel Teir. It is likewiſe called Sheban, from the white ſpot at the top of it, which ſeems to be ſulphur, and a part ſeems to have fallen in, and to

* Jibbel Teir, the Mountain of the Bird; corruptly, *Gibraltar*.

have enlarged the crater on this ſide. The iſland is four miles from ſouth to north, has a peek in form of a pyramid in the middle of it, and is about a quarter of a mile high. It deſcends, equally, on both ſides, to the ſea; has four openings at the top, which vent ſmoke, and ſometimes, in ſtrong ſoutherly winds it is ſaid to throw out fire. There was no ſuch appearance when we paſſed it. The iſland is perfectly deſert, being covered with ſulphur and pumice ſtones.

Some journals that I have ſeen are full of indraughts, whirlpools, and unfathomable depths, all around this iſland. I muſt however take the liberty of ſaying to theſe gentlemen, who are otherwiſe ſo very fond of ſoundings as to diſtribute them all over the channel, that they have been unfortunate in placing their unfathomable depths here, and even ſoundings. It is probable theſe are occaſioned by the convulſions in the earth made by this volcano; but the only indraught we ſaw was a ſtrong current ſetting northward, and there are ſoundings as far as three leagues eaſt of it, in 33 fathom water, with a ſandy bottom. Between this and the iſland Raſab you have ſoundings from 20 to 35 fathom, with ſand and rocks; and on the north-eaſt ſide you have good anchoring, from a league's diſtance, till within a cable's length of the ſhore, and there is anchorage five leagues S. W. by. W. in twenty-five fathoms, and I believe alſo, in the line from Loheia to Dahalac, the effects of the convulſions of this vulcano. Such, at leaſt, is the information I procured at Maſuah from the pilots uſed to this navigation in ſearch of ſulphur; ſuch was the information alſo of my Rais, who went twice loaded with that commodity to his own country at Maſcatte; no other people go there. Both Abyſſinians and Arabians believe that this is the

the entry or paſſage by which the devil comes up to this world.

Six leagues E. by S. of this iſland there is a dangerous ſhoal with great overfalls, on which a French ſhip ſtruck in the year 1751, and was ſaved with very great difficulty. Jibbel Teir is the point from which all our ſhips, going to Jidda, take their departure, after ſailing from Mocha, and paſſing the iſlands to the ſouthward.

We left Jibbel Teir on the 11th with little wind at weſt, but towards mid-day it freſhened as uſual, and turned northward to N.N. eaſt. We were now in mid-channel, ſo that we ſtood on ſtraight for Dahalac till half paſt four, when a boy, who went aloft, ſaw four iſlands in a direction N. W. by W.$\frac{1}{4}$ weſt. We were ſtanding on with a freſh breeze, and all our ſails full, when I ſaw, a little before ſun-ſet, a white-fringed wave of the well-known figure of a breaker. I cried to the Rais for God's ſake to ſhorten ſail, for I ſaw a breaker a-head, ſtraight in our way. He ſaid there was no ſuch thing; that I had miſtaken it, for it was a ſea-gull. About ſeven in the evening we ſtruck upon a reef of coral rocks. Arabs are cowards in all ſudden dangers, which they conſider as particular directions or mandates of providence, and therefore not to be avoided. Few uncultivated minds indeed have any calmneſs, or immediate reſource in themſelves when in unexpected danger. The Arab ſailors were immediately for taking the boat, and ſailing to the iſlands the boy had ſeen. The Abyſſinians were for cutting up the planks and wood of the inſide of the veſſel, and making her a raft.

A VIOLENT

A VIOLENT diſpute enſued, and after that a battle, when night overtook us, ſtill faſt upon the rock. The Rais and Yaſine, however, calmed the riot, when I begged the paſſengers would hear me. I told them, "You all know, or ſhould know, that the boat is mine, as I bought it with my money, for the ſafety and accommodation of myſelf and ſervants; you know, likewiſe, that I and my men are all well armed, while you are naked; therefore do not imagine that we will ſuffer any of you to enter that boat, and ſave your lives at the expence of ours. On this veſſel of the Rais is your dependence, in it you are to be ſaved or to periſh; therefore all hands to work, and get the veſſel off, while it is calm; if ſhe had been materially damaged, ſhe had been ſunk before now." They all ſeemed on this to take courage, and ſaid, they hoped I would not leave them. I told them, if they would be men, I would not leave them while there was a bit of the veſſel together.

THE boat was immediately launched, and one of my ſervants, the Rais, and two ſailors, were put on board. They were ſoon upon the bank, where the two ſailors got out, who cut their feet at firſt upon the white coral, but afterwards got firmer footing. They attempted to puſh the ſhip backwards, but ſhe would not move. Poles and handſpikes were tried in order to ſtir her, but theſe were not long enough. In a word, there was no appearance of getting her off before morning, when we knew the wind would riſe, and it was to be feared ſhe would then be daſhed to pieces. Mahomet Gibberti, and Yaſine, had been reading the Koran aloud ever ſince the veſſel ſtruck. I ſaid to them in paſſing, "Sirs, would it not be as wiſe for you to leave your books till you get a-ſhore, and lend a hand to the people?"

people?" Mahomet anſwered, "that he was ſo weak and ſick, that he could not ſtand." But Yaſine did not ſlight the rebuke, he ſtripped himſelf naked, went forward on the veſſel, and then threw himſelf into the ſea. He, firſt, very judiciouſly, felt what room there was for ſtanding, and found the bank was of conſiderable breadth, and that we were ſtuck upon the point of it; that it rounded, ſlanting away afterwards, and ſeemed very deep at the ſides, ſo the people, ſtanding on the right of it, could not reach the veſſel to puſh it, only thoſe upon the point. The Rais and Yaſine now cried for poles and handſpikes, which were given them; two more men let themſelves down by the ſide, and ſtood upon the bank. I then deſired the Rais to get out a line, come a-ſtern with the boat, and draw her in the ſame direction that they puſhed.

As ſoon as the boat could be towed a-ſtern, a great cry was ſet up, that ſhe began to move. A little after, a gentle wind juſt made itſelf felt from the eaſt, and the cry from the Rais was, Hoiſt the fore-ſail and put it a-back. This being immediately done, and a gentle breeze filling the fore-ſail at the time, they all puſhed, and the veſſel ſlid gently off, free from the ſhoal. I cannot ſay I partook of the joy ſo ſuddenly as the others did. I had always ſome fears a plank might have been ſtarted; but we ſaw the advantage of a veſſel being ſewed, rather than nailed together, as ſhe not only was unhurt, but made very little water. The people were all exceedingly tired, and nobody thought they could enough praiſe the courage and readineſs of Yaſine. From that day he grew into conſideration with me, which increaſed ever after, till my departure from Abyſſinia.

The latitude of our place, at noon, had been 15° 32′ 12″. I rectified my quadrant, and hung it up. Seeing the clear of the *Lyre* not far from the meridian, I was willing to be certain of that dangerous place we had fallen upon. By two obſervations of *Lucida Lyræ*, and *Lucida Aquilæ*, and by a mean of both, I found the bank to be in lat. 15° 28′ 15″ north.

There was a circumſtance, during the hurry of this tranſaction, that gave us all reaſon to be ſurpriſed. The ghoſt was ſuppoſed to be again ſeen on the boltſprit, as if puſhing the veſſel aſhore; and as this was breaking covenant with me, as a paſſenger, I thought it was time ſome notice ſhould be taken of him, ſince the Rais had referred it entirely to me. I inquired who the perſons were that had ſeen him. Two moors of Hamazen were the firſt that perceived him, and afterwards a great part of the crew had been brought to believe the reality of this viſion. I called them forward to examine them before the Rais, and Mahomet Gibberti, and they declared that, during the night, they had ſeen him go and come ſeveral times; once, he was puſhing againſt the boltſprit, another time he was pulling upon the rope, as if he had an anchor aſhore; after this he had a very long pole, or ſtick, in his hand, but it ſeemed heavy and ſtiff, as if it had been made of iron, and when the veſſel began to move, he turned into a ſmall blue flame, ran along the gunnel on the larboard ſide of the ſhip, and, upon the veſſel going off, he diſappeared. "Now, ſaid I, "it is plain by this change of ſhape, that he has left us for ever, let us therefore ſee whether he has done us any harm or not. Hath any of you any baggage ſtowed forwards?" The ſtrangers anſwered, "Yes, it is all there." Then ſaid

ſaid I, go forward, and ſee if every man has got his own. They all did this without loſs of time, when a great noiſe and confuſion enſued; every one was plundered of ſomething, ſtibium, nails, braſs wire, incenſe and beads; in ſhort, all the precious part of their little ſtores was ſtolen.

All the paſſengers were now in the utmoſt deſpair, and began to charge the ſailors. "I appeal to you, Yaſine and Mahomet Gibberti, ſaid I, whether theſe two moors who ſaw him oftener, and were moſt intimate with him, have not a chance of knowing where the things are hid; for in my country, where ghoſts are very frequent, they are always aſſiſted in the thefts they are guilty of, by thoſe that ſee and converſe with them. I ſuppoſe therefore it is the ſame with Mahometan ghoſts." "The very ſame, ſaid Mahomet Gibberti and Yaſine, as far as ever we heard." "Then go, Yaſine, with the Rais, and examine that part of the ſhip where the moors ſlept, while I keep them here; and take two ſailors with you, that know the ſecret places." Before the ſearch began, however, one of them told Yaſine where every thing was, and accordingly all was found and reſtored. I would not have the reader imagine, that I here mean to value myſelf, either upon any ſupernatural knowledge, or extreme ſagacity, in ſuppoſing that it was a piece of roguery from the beginning, of which I never doubted. But while Yaſine and the ſailors were buſy puſhing off the veſſel, and I a-ſtern at an obſervation, Mahomet Gibberti's ſervant, ſitting by his maſter, ſaw one of the moors go to the repoſitory of the baggage, and, after ſtaying a little, come out with a box and package in his hand. This he told his maſter, who informed me, and the ghoſt finding his aſſociates diſcovered, never was ſeen any more.

The 12th, in the morning, we found that this ſhoal was a ſand bank, with a ridge of coral rocks upon it, which ſtretches hither from Selma, and ends a little farther to the northward in deep water. At ſun-riſe the iſlands bore as follow :—

Wowcan, -	diſtant	5 miles - -	S. S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.
Selma - -	do. -	3 do. - -	S.
Megaida - -	do. -	4 do. - -	S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.
Zober - - -	do. -	4 do. - -	W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.
Racka - -	do. -	5 do. - -	N. N. W.
Furſh - -	do. -	4 do. - -	N.W. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.

These iſlands lie in a ſemi-circle round this ſhoal. There were no breakers upon it, the ſea being ſo perfectly calm. I ſuppoſe if there had been wind, it would have broken upon it, as I certainly ſaw it do before we ſtruck ; between Megaida and Zober is a ſmall ſharp rock above the ſurface of the ſea.

We got under ſail at ſix in the morning, but the wind was very faſt decaying, and ſoon after fell dead-calm. Towards eleven, as uſual, it freſhened, and almoſt at due north. At noon I found our lat. to be 15° 29′ 33″ north, from which we had the following bearings :—

Selma, -	diſtant	- 5 miles, - -	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.
Megaida, -	do. - -	4 do. - - -	S. S. E.
Zober, -	do. - -	2 do. - -	S.
Dubia, - -	do. - -	5 do. - - -	W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.
Racka, -	do. -	1 do. - -	N. W.
Beyoume, -	do. - -	5 do. - - -	N. W. by N.

Cigala,

Cigala, -	diſtant -	6 miles, - -	N.
Furſh, -	do. - -	3 do. - - -	N.E. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.

---and the rocks upon which we ſtruck, E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. ſomething leſs than five miles off.

At four o'clock in the afternoon we ſaw land, which our pilot told us was the ſouth end of Dahalac. It bore weſt by ſouth, and was diſtant about nine leagues. As our courſe was then weſt by north, I found that we were going whither I had no intention to land, as my agreement was to touch at Dahalac el Kibeer, which is the principal port, and on the ſouth end of the iſland, where the India ſhips formerly uſed to reſort, as there is deep water, and plenty of ſea-room between that and the main. But the freight of four ſacks of dora, which did not amount to ten ſhillings, was ſufficient to make the Rais break his word, and run a riſk of cancelling all the meritorious ſervices he had ſo long performed for me. So certain is it, that none of theſe people can ever do what is right, where the ſmalleſt trifle is thrown into the ſcale to bias them from their duty.

At ſix in the evening we anchored near a ſmall iſland called *Racka Garbia*, or Weſt Racka, in four fathom of ſtony-ground. By a meridian altitude of *Lucida Aquilæ*, I concluded the lat. to be 15° 31′ 30″ north, and our bearings as follow:---

Dallacken, -	diſtant -	3 miles, - -	N.E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.
Dalgrouſht, -	do. -	5 do. - -	S.E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.
Delleſheb, - -	do. -	6 do. - -	E.N.E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E.
Dubia, - -	do. -	11 do. - -	E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.
Racka Garbia, -	do. -	2 do. - -	S.W. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.

On the 13th, a little after ſun-riſe, we continued our courſe weſt, and a very little ſoutherly, with little wind. At eight o'clock we paſſed Dalgrouſht, north by eaſt about a league diſtance, and a new iſland, Germ Malco, weſt by north. At noon, I obſerved our latitude to be 15° 33′ 13″ north; and our bearings as follow:—

Dallacken, - -	diſtant -	6 miles;	- -	E. by S.
Racka, - -	do. -	6 do.	- -	S.E. by S.
Germ Malco, -	do. -	6. do.	- -	S. S. W.
Dalgrouſht, - -	do. -	4 do.	- -	E. N. E.
Dennifarek, -	do. -	7 do.	- -	N. N. W.
Seide el Arabi, -	do. -	4 do.	- -	W. by S.
Dahal Couſs, - -	do. -	9 do.	-	N. W. by N.

The ſouth cape of the iſland of Dahalac is called *Ras Shouke*, which, in Arabic, means the Cape of Thorns, becauſe upon it are a quantity of ſunt, or acacia, the thorny-tree which bears the gum-arabic. We continued our courſe along the eaſt ſide of Dahalac, and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, ſaw Irwée, which is ſaid to anſwer to the centre of the iſland. It bore then ſouth-weſt of us four miles. We alſo ſaw two ſmall iſlands, Tarza and Siah el Sezan; the firſt, north by weſt three miles; the ſecond, north-eaſt by eaſt, but ſomething farther. After having again violently ſtruck on the coral rocks in the entry, at ſun-ſet we anchored in the harbour of Dobelew.

This harbour is in form circular, and ſufficiently defended from all winds, but its entrance is too narrow, and within, it is full of rocks. The bottom of the whole port is covered with large ramifications of white coral, with huge black

black ſtones; and I could no where obſerve there were above three fathom water, when it was full ſea. The pilot indeed ſaid there were ſeven, or twelve at the mouth; but ſo violent a tide ruſhed in through the entrance, that no veſſel could eſcape being driven upon the rocks, therefore I made no draught of it.

Dobelew is a village three miles ſouth-weſt of the harbour. It conſiſts of about eighty houſes, built of ſtone drawn from the ſea; theſe calcine like ſhells, and make good enough morter, as well as materials for building before burning. All the houſes are covered with bent-graſs, like thoſe of Arabia. The 17th, I got my large quadrant a-ſhore, and obſerved the ſun in the meridian in that village, and determined the lat. of its ſouth-weſt extremity, to be 15° 42′ 22″ north.

Irwee is a village ſtill ſmaller than Dobelew, about four miles diſtant. From this obſervation, compared with our account, we computed the ſouthern cape of Dahalac, called *Ras Shouke*, to be in lat. 15° 27′ 30″; and Ras Antalou, or the north cape, to be in lat. 15° 54′ 30″ north.

The whole length of the iſland, whoſe direction is from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, is thirty-ſeven miles, and its greateſt breadth eighteen, which did within a very little agree with the account the inhabitants gave us, who made its length indeed ſomething more.

Dahalac is by far the largeſt iſland in the Red Sea, as none, that we had hitherto ſeen, exceeded five miles in length. It is low and even, the ſoil fixed gravel and white ſand,

ſand, mixed with ſhells and other marine productions. It is deſtitute of all ſorts of herbage, at leaſt in ſummer, unleſs a ſmall quantity of bent graſs, juſt ſufficient to feed the few antelopes and goats that are on the iſland. There is a very beautiful ſpecies of this laſt animal found here, ſmall, ſhort-haired, with thin black ſharp horns, having rings upon them, and they are very ſwift of foot.

This iſland is, in many places, covered with large plantations of Acacia trees, which grow to no height, ſeldom above eight feet, but ſpread wide, and turn flat at top, probably by the influence of the wind from the ſea. Though in the neighbourhood of Abyſſinia, Dahalac does not partake of its ſeaſons: no rain falls here, from the end of March to the beginning of October; but, in the intermediate months, eſpecially December, January, and February, there are violent ſhowers for twelve hours at a time, which deluge the iſland, and fill the ciſterns ſo as to ſerve all next ſummer; for there are no hills nor mountains in Dahalac, and conſequently no ſprings. Theſe ciſterns alone preſerve the water, and of them there yet remain three hundred and ſeventy, all hewn out of the ſolid rock. They ſay theſe were the works of the Perſians; it is more probable they were thoſe of the firſt Ptolemies. But whoever were the conſtructors of theſe magnificent reſervoirs, they were a very different people from thoſe that now poſſeſs them, who have not induſtry enough to keep one of the three hundred and ſeventy clear for the uſe of man. All of them are open to every ſort of animal, and half full of the filth they leave there, after drinking and waſhing in them. The water of Dobelew, and Irwée, taſted ſtrong of muſk, from the dung of the goats and antelopes, and the ſmell before

you drink it is more nauſeous than the taſte; yet one of theſe ciſterns, cleaned and ſhut up with a door, might afford them wholeſome ſweet water all the year over.

After the rains fall, a prodigious quantity of graſs immediately ſprings up; and the goats give the inhabitants milk, which in winter is the principal part of their ſubſiſtence, for they neither plow nor ſow. All their employment is to work the veſſels which trade to the different parts of the coaſt. One half of the inhabitants is conſtantly on the Arabian ſide, and by their labour is enabled to furniſh with * dora, and other proviſions, the other half who ſtay at home; and when their time is expired, they are relieved by the other half, and ſupplied with neceſſaries in their turn. But the ſuſtenance of the poorer ſort is entirely ſhell and other fiſh. Their wives and daughters are very bold, and expert fiſher-women. Several of them, entirely naked, ſwam off to our veſſel before we came to an anchor, begging handfuls of wheat, rice, or dora. They are very importunate and ſturdy beggars, and not eaſily put off with denials. Theſe miſerable people, who live in the villages not frequented by barks from Arabia, are ſometimes a whole year without taſting bread. Yet ſuch is the attachment to the place of their nativity, they prefer living in this bare, barren, parched ſpot, almoſt in want of neceſſaries of every kind, eſpecially of theſe eſſential ones, bread and water, to thoſe pleaſant and plentiful countries on both ſides of them. This preference we muſt not call ſtrange, for it is univerſal: A ſtrong attachment to our native country,

* Millet, or Indian corn.

country, whatever is its condition, has been impreſſed by Providence, for wiſe ends, in the breaſts of all nations; from Lapland to the Line, you find it written preciſely in the ſame character.

THERE are twelve villages, or towns, in Dahalac, little different in ſize from Dobelew; each has a plantation of doom-trees round it, which furniſh the only manufacture in the iſland. The leaves of this tree, when dried, are of a gloſſy white, which might very eaſily be miſtaken for ſattin; of theſe they make baſkets of ſurpriſing beauty and neatneſs, ſtaining part of the leaves with red or black, and working them into figures very artificially. I have known ſome of theſe, reſembling ſtraw-baſkets, continue full of water for twenty-four hours, without one drop coming through. They ſell theſe at Loheia and Jidda, the largeſt of them for four commeſh, or ſixpence. This is the employment, or rather amuſement of the men who ſtay at home; for they work but very moderately at it, and all of them indeed take ſpecial care, not to prejudice their health by any kind of fatigue from induſtry.

PEOPLE of the better ſort, ſuch as the Shekh and his relations, men privileged to be idle, and never expoſed to the ſun, are of a brown complexion, not darker than the inhabitants of Loheia. But the common ſort employed in fiſhing, and thoſe who go conſtantly to ſea, are not indeed black, but red, and little darker than the colour of new mohogany. There are, beſides, blacks among them, who come from Arkeeko and the Main, but even theſe, upon marrying, grow leſs black in a generation.

The inhabitants of Dahalac ſeemed to be a ſimple, fearful, and inoffenſive people. It is the only part of Africa, or Arabia, (call it which you pleaſe) where you ſee no one carry arms of any kind; neither gun, knife, nor ſword, is to be ſeen in the hands of any one. Whereas, at Loheia, and on all the coaſt of Arabia, and more particularly at Yambo, every perſon goes armed; even the porters, naked, and groaning under the weight of their burden, and heat of the day, have yet a leather belt, in which they carry a crooked knife, ſo monſtrouſly long, that it needs a particular motion and addreſs in walking, not to lame the bearer. This was not always the caſe at Dahalac; ſeveral of the Portugueſe, on their firſt arrival here, were murdered, and the iſland often treated ill, in revenge, by the armaments of that nation. The men ſeem healthy. They told me they had no diſeaſes among them, unleſs ſometimes in Spring, when the boats of Yemen and Jidda bring the ſmall-pox among them, and very few eſcape with life that are infected. I could not obſerve a man among them that ſeemed to be ſixty years old, from which I infer, they are not long livers, though the air ſhould be healthy, as being near the channel, and as they have the north wind all ſummer, which moderates the heat.

Of all the iſlands we had paſſed on this ſide the channel, Dahalac alone is inhabited. It depends, as do all the reſt, upon Maſuah, and is conferred by a firman from the Grand Signior, on the Baſha of Jidda; and, from him, on Metical Aga, then on the Naybe and his ſervants. The preſent governor's name was Hagi Mahomet Abd el cader, of whom I have before ſpoken, as having ſailed from Jidda to Maſuah before me, where he did me all the diſ-ſervice in his power,

and nearly procured my aſſaſſination. The revenue of this governor conſiſts in a goat brought to him monthly by each of the twelve villages. Every veſſel, that puts in there for Maſuah, pays him alſo a pound of coffee, and every one from Arabia, a dollar or pataka. No ſort of ſmall money is current at Dahalac, excepting Venetian glaſs-beads, old and new, of all ſizes and colours, broken and whole.

Although this is the miſerable ſtate of Dahalac at preſent, matters were widely different in former times. The pearl fiſhery flouriſhed greatly here, under the Ptolemies; and even long after, in the time of the Caliphs, it produced a great revenue, and, till the ſovereigns of Cairo, of the preſent miſerable race of ſlaves, began to withdraw themſelves from their dependency on the port (for even after the reign of Selim, and the conqueſts of Arabia, under Sinan Baſha, the Turkiſh gallies were ſtill kept up at Suez, whilſt Maſuah and Suakem had Baſhas) Dahalac was the principal iſland that furniſhed the pearl fiſhers, or divers. It was, indeed, the chief port for the fiſhery on the ſouthern part of the Red Sea, as Suakem was on the north; and the Baſha of Maſuah paſſed part of every ſummer here, to avoid the heat at his place of reſidence on the Continent.

The fiſhery extended from Dahalac and its iſlands nearly to lat. 20°. The inhabited iſlands furniſhed each a bark, and ſo many divers, and they were paid in wheat, flour, &c. ſuch a portion to each bark, for their uſe, and ſo much to leave with their family, for their ſubſiſtence; ſo that a few months employment furniſhed them with every thing neceſſary for the reſt of the year. The fiſhery was rented, in latter times, to the Baſha of Suakem, but there was a place between

between Suakem, and the ſuppoſed river Frat, in lat. 21° 28′ north, called *Gungunnah*, which was reſerved to the Grand Signior in particular, and a ſpecial officer was appointed to receive the pearls on the ſpot, and ſend them to Conſtantinople. The pearls found there were of the largeſt ſize, and inferior to none in water, or roundneſs. Tradition ſays, that this was, excluſively, the property of the Pharaohs, by which is meant, in Arabian manuſcrip's, the old kings of Egypt before Mahomet.

In the ſame extent, between Dahalac and Suakem, was another very valuable fiſhery, that of * tortoiſes, from which the fineſt ſhells of that kind were produced, and a great trade was carried on with the Eaſt Indies, (China eſpecially) at little expence, and with very conſiderable profits. The animal itſelf (the turtle) was in great plenty, between lat. 18° and 20°, in the neighbourhood of thoſe low ſandy iſlands, laid down in my chart.

The India trade flouriſhed exceedingly at Suakem and Maſuah, as it had done in the proſperous time of the Caliphs. The Banians, (then the only traders from the Eaſt Indies) being prohibited by the Mahometans to enter the Holy Land of the Hejaz, carried all their veſſels to Konfodah in Yemen, and from theſe two ports had, in return, at the firſt hand, pearls, tortoiſe-ſhell, which ſold for its weight of gold, in China; Tibbar, or pure gold of Sennaar, (that from Abyſſinia being leſs ſo) elephant's teeth, rhinoceros

 horns

* See the article Tortoiſe in the Appendix.

horns for turning, plenty of gum Arabic, caſſia, myrrh, frankincenſe, and many other precious articles; theſe were all bartered, at Maſuah and Suakem, for India goods. But nothing which violence and injuſtice can ruin, ever can ſubſiſt under Turkiſh government. The Baſhas paying dearly for their confirmation at Conſtantinople, and uncertain if they ſhould hold this office long enough to make reimburſements for the money they had already advanced, had not patience to ſtay till the courſe of trade gradually indemniſied them, but proceeding from extortion to extortion, they at laſt became downright robbers, ſeizing the cargo of the ſhips wherever they could find them, and exerciſing the moſt ſhocking cruelties on the perſon they belonged to, flaying the factors alive, and impaling thoſe that remained in their hands, to obtain, by terror, remittances from India. The trade was thus abandoned, and the revenue ceaſed. There were no bidders at Conſtantinople for the farm, nobody had trade in their heads when their lives were every hour in danger. Dahalac became therefore dependent on the Baſha of Jidda, and he appointed an * Aga, who paid him a moderate ſum, and appropriated to himſelf the proviſions and ſalary allowed for the pearl fiſhery, or the greateſt part of them.

The Aga at Suakem endeavoured, in vain, to make the Arabs and people near him work without ſalary, ſo they abandoned an employment which produced nothing but puniſhment; and, in time, they grew ignorant of the fiſhery in

* A Subaltern Governor.

in which they once were ſo well ſkilled and had been educated. This great nurſery of ſeamen therefore was loſt, and the gallies, being no longer properly manned, were either given up to rot, or turned into merchant-ſhips for carrying the coffee between Yemen and Suez, theſe veſſels were unarmed, and indeed incapable of armament, and unſerviceable by their conſtruction; beſides, they were ill-manned, and ſo careleſsly and ignorantly navigated, that there was not a year, that one or more did not founder, not from ſtreſs of weather, (for they were ſailing in a pond) or from any thing, but ignorance, or inattention.

Trade took again its ancient courſe towards Jidda. The Sherriffe of Mecca, and all the Arabs, were intereſted to get it back to Arabia, and with it the government of their own countries. That the pearl fiſhing might, moreover, no longer be an allurement for the Turkiſh power to maintain itſelf here, and oppreſs them, they diſcouraged the practice of diving, till it grew into deſuetude; this brought inſenſibly all the people of the iſlands to the continent, where they were employed in coaſting veſſels, which continues their only occupation to this day. This policy ſucceeded; the princes of Arabia became again free from the Turkiſh power, now but a ſhadow, and Dahalac, Maſuah, and Suakem, returned to their ancient maſters, to which they are ſubject at this inſtant, governed indeed by Shekhs of their own country, and preſerving only the name of Turkiſh government, each being under the command of a robber and aſſaſſin.

The immenſe treaſures in the bottom of the Red Sea, have thus been abandoned for near two hundred years,

though they never were richer in all probability than at preſent. No nation can now turn them to any profit, but the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, more intent on multiplying the number of their enemies, and weakening themſelves by ſpreading their inconſiderable force over new conqueſts, than creating additional profit by engaging in new articles of commerce. A ſettlement upon the river Frat, which never yet has belonged to any one but wandering Arabs, would open them a market both for coarſe and fine goods from the ſouthern frontiers of Morocco, to Congo and Angola, and ſet the commerce of pearls and tortoiſe ſhell on foot again. All this ſection of the Gulf from Suez, as I am told, is in their charter, and twenty ſhips might be employed on the Red Sea, without any violation of territorial claims. The myrrh, the frankincenſe, ſome cinnamon, and variety of drugs, are all in the poſſeſſion of the weak king of Adel, an uſurper, tyrant, and Pagan, without protection, and willing to trade with any ſuperior power, that only would ſecure him a miſerable livelihood.

If this does not take place, I am perſuaded the time is not far off, when theſe countries ſhall, in ſome ſhape or other, be ſubjects of a new maſter. Were another Peter, another Elizabeth, or, better than either, another Catharine to ſucceed the preſent, in an empire already extended to China;—were ſuch a ſovereign, unfettered by European politics, to proſecute that eaſy taſk of puſhing thoſe mountebanks of ſovereigns and ſtateſmen, theſe ſtage-players of government, the Turks, into Aſia, the inhabitants of the whole country, who in their hearts look upon her already as their ſovereign, becauſe ſhe is the head of their religion, would, I am perſuaded, ſubmit without a blow that inſtant

ſtant the Turks were removed on the other ſide of the Helleſpont.

There are neither horſes, dogs, ſheep, cows, nor any ſort of quadruped, but goats, aſſes, a few half-ſtarved camels and antelopes at Dahalac, which laſt are very numerous. The inhabitants have no knowledge of fire-arms, and there are no dogs, nor beaſts of prey in the iſland to kill them; they catch indeed ſome few of them in traps.

On our arrival at Dahalac, on the 14th, we ſaw ſwallows there, and, on the 16th, they were all gone. On our landing at Maſuah, on the 19th, we ſaw a few; the 21ſt and 22d they were in great flocks; on the 2d of October they were all gone. It was the blue long-tailed ſwallow, with the flat head; but there was, likewiſe, the Engliſh martin, black, and darkiſh grey in the body, with a white breaſt.

The language at Dahalac is that of the *Shepherds*; Arabic too is ſpoken by moſt of them. From this iſland we ſee the high mountains of *Habeſh*, running in an even ridge like a wall, parallel to the coaſt, and down to Suakem.

Before I leave Dahalac, I muſt obſerve, that, in a wretched chart, in the hands of ſome of the Engliſh gentlemen at Jidda, there were ſoundings marked all along the eaſt-coaſt of Dahalac, from thirteen to thirty fathoms, within two leagues of the ſhore. Now, the iſlands I have mentioned occupy a much larger ſpace than that; yet none of them are ſet down in the chart; and, where the ſoundings are marked thirty, forty, and even ninety fathom, all is full of ſhoals under water, with iſlands and ſunken coral rocks,

ſome of them near the ſurface, though the breakers do not appear upon them, partly owing to the waves being ſteadied by the violence of the current, and ſomewhat kept off by the iſland. This dangerous error is, probably, owing to the draughts being compoſed from different journals, where the pilot has had different ways of meaſuring his diſtance; ſome uſing forty-two feet to a thirty-ſecond glaſs, and ſome twenty-eight, both of them being conſidered as one competent diviſion of a degree; the diſtances are all too ſhort, and the ſoundings, and every thing elſe, conſequently out of their places.

WHOEVER has to navigate in the Abyſſinian ſide of the channel, will do well to paſs the iſland Dahalac on the eaſt ſide, or, at leaſt, not approach the outmoſt iſland, Wowcan, nearer than ten leagues; but, keeping about twelve leagues meridian diſtance weſt of Jibbel Teir, or near mid-channel between that and the iſland, they will then be out of danger; being between lat. 15° 20′ and 15° 40′, which laſt is the latitude, as I obſerved, of Saiel Noora, and which is the northern iſland, we ſaw, three leagues off Ras Antalou, the northmoſt cape of Dahalac.

BOTH at our entering into the port of Dobelew on the 14th, and our going out of it on the 17th, we found a tide running like a ſluice, which we apprehended, in ſpite of our ſails being full, would force us out of our courſe upon the rocks. I imagine it was then at its greateſt ſtrength, it now being near the equinoctial full moon. The channel between Terra Firma and the iſland being very narrow, and the influence of the ſun and moon then nearly in the equator, had

had occaſioned this unuſual violence of the tide, by forcing a large column of water through ſo narrow a ſpace.

On the 17th, after we had examined our veſſel, and found ſhe had received no damage, and provided water (bad as it was) for the remainder of our voyage, we ſailed from Dobelew, but, the wind being contrary, we were obliged to come to an anchor, at three quarters paſt four o'clock, in ten fathom water, about three leagues from that port, which was to the ſouth-weſt of us; the bearings and diſtances are as follow:---

Derghiman Kibeer,	diſtant	10 miles,	W.S.W.
Deleda,	do.	7 do.	W. by N.
Saiel Sezan,	do.	4 do.	S. E.
Zeteban,	do.	5 do.	N. E.
Dahalac,	do.	12 do.	S.S.W.
Dahalhalem,	do.	12 do.	N.W. by N.

On the 18th, we ſailed, ſtanding off and on, with a contrary wind at north-weſt, and a ſtrong current in the ſame direction. At half paſt four in the morning we were forced to come to an anchor. There is here a very ſhallow and narrow paſſage, which I ſounded myſelf in the boat, barely one and a half fathom, or nine feet of water, and we were obliged to wait the filling of the tide. This is called the *Bogaz*, which ſignifies, as I have before obſerved, the narrow and ſhallow paſſage. It is between the iſland Dahalac and the ſouth point of the iſland of Noora, about forty fathom broad, and, on each ſide, full of dangerous rocks. The iſlands then bore,

Derghiman Seguier, -	diſtant	3 miles, - -	S. W.
Derghiman Kibeer, - -	do.	5 do. - -	S.
Dahalhalem, - - -	do.	4 do. - -	E. N. E.
Noora, - - - - -	do.	2 do. - -	N. E b. N.

The tide now entered with an unuſual force, and ran more like the Nile, or a torrent, or ſtream conducted to turn a mill, than the ſea, or the effects of a tide. At half paſt one o'clock, there was water enough to paſs, and we ſoon were hurried through it by the violence of the current, driving us in a manner truly tremendous.

At half after three, we paſſed between Ras Antalou, the North Cape of Dahalac, and the ſmall iſland Dahalottom, which has ſome trees upon it. On this iſland is the tomb of Shekh * Abou Gafar, mentioned by Poncet, in his voyage, who miſtakes the name of the ſaint for that of the iſland. The ſtrait between the Cape and the iſland is a mile and a half broad. At four in the afternoon, we anchored near a a ſmall iſland called *Surat*. All between this and Dahalac, there is no water exceeding ſeven fathom, till you are near Dahalac Kibeer, whoſe port has water for large veſſels, but is open to every point, from ſouth-weſt to north-weſt, and has a great ſwell.

All ſhips coming to the weſtward of Dahalac had better keep within the iſland Drugerut, between that and the main, where there is plenty of water, and room enough to work

* Poncet's Voyage, tranſlated into Engliſh, printed for W. Lewis in 1709, in 12mo, page 121.

work, tho', even here, there are iſlands a-head; and clear weather, as well as a good look-out, will always be neceſſary.

On the 19th of September, at three quarters paſt ſix in the morning, we ſailed from our anchorage near Surat. At a quarter paſt nine, Dargeli, an iſland with trees upon it, bore N. W. by W. two miles and a half diſtant; and Drugerut three leagues and a half north and by eaſt, when it fell calm.

At eleven o'clock, we paſſed the iſland of Dergai-ham, bearing N. by Eaſt, three miles diſtant, and at five in the afternoon we came to an anchor in the harbour of Maſuah, having been * ſeventeen days on our paſſage, including the day we firſt went on board, though this voyage, with a favourable wind, is generally made in three days; it often has, indeed, been ſailed in leſs.

The reader will obſerve, that many of the iſlands begin with Dahal, and ſome with Del, which laſt is only an abbreviation of the former, and both of them ſignify *iſland*, in the language of Beja, otherwiſe called *Geez*, or the language of the ſhepherds. Maſſowa, too, though generally ſpelled in the manner I have here expreſſed it, ſhould properly be written *Maſuah*, which is the harbour or water of the *Shepherds*. Of this nation, ſo often mentioned already in this work, as well as the many other people leſs powerful and numerous than they that inhabit the countries between the tropics, or frontiers of Egypt and the Line, it will

* This muſt not be attributed wholly to the weather. We ſpent much time in ſurveying the iſlands, and in obſervation.

be neceſſary now to ſpeak in ſome detail, although the connection they all have with the trade of the Red Sea, and with each other, will oblige me to go back to very early times, to the invention of letters, and all the uſeful arts, which had their beginning here, were carefully nouriſhed, and came probably to as great a perfection as they did ever ſince arrive at any other period.

TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK II.

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST AGES OF THE INDIAN AND AFRICAN TRADE—THE FIRST PEOPLING OF ABYSSINIA AND ATBARA—SOME CONJECTURES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE THERE.

CHAP. I.

Of the India trade in its earlieſt ages—Settlement of Ethiopia—Troglodytes---Building of the firſt Cities.

THE farther back we go into the hiſtory of Eaſtern nations, the more reaſon we have to be ſurpriſed at the accounts of their immenſe riches and magnificence. One who reads the hiſtory of Egypt is like a traveller walking through its ancient, ruined, and deſerted towns, where all are palaces and temples, without any trace of private or ordinary habitation. So in the earlieſt, though now mu ila-

ted

ted, accounts which we have of them, all is power, ſplendour, and riches, attended by the luxury which was the neceſſary conſequence, without any clue or thread left us by which we can remount, or be conducted, to the ſource or fountain whence this variety of wealth had flowed; without ever being able to arrive at a period, when theſe people were poor and mean, or even in a ſtate of mediocrity, or upon a footing with European nations.

The ſacred ſcriptures, the moſt ancient, as well as the moſt credible of all hiſtories, repreſent Paleſtine, of which they particularly treat, in the earlieſt ages, as not only full of poliſhed, powerful, and orderly ſtates, but abounding alſo in ſilver and gold *, in a greater proportion than is to be found this day in any ſtate in Europe, though immenſely rich dominions in a new world have been added to the poſſeſſion of that territory, which furniſhed the greateſt quantity of gold and ſilver to the old. Paleſtine, however, is a poor country, left to its own reſources and produce merely. It muſt have been always a poor country, without ſome extraordinary connection with foreign nations. It never contained either mines of gold or ſilver, and though, at moſt periods of its hiſtory, it appears to have been but thinly inhabited, it never of itſelf produced wherewithal to ſupport and maintain the few that dwelt in it.

Mr de Monteſquieu †, ſpeaking of the wealth of Semiramis, imagines that the great riches of the Aſſyrian empire

* Exod. xxxviii 39. † Lib. 21. cap. 6.

empire in her reign, aroſe from this queen's having plundered ſome more ancient and richer nation; as they, in their turn, fell afterwards a prey to a poorer, but more warlike enemy. But however true this fact may be with regard to Semiramis, it does not ſolve the general difficulty, as ſtill the ſame queſtion recurs, concerning the wealth of that prior nation, which the Aſſyrians plundered, and from which they received their treaſure. I believe the example is rare, that a large kingdom has been enriched by war. Alexander conquered all Aſia, part of Africa, and a conſiderable portion of Europe; he plundered Semiramis's kingdom, and all thoſe that were tributary to her; he went farther into the Indies than ever ſhe did, though her territories bordered upon the river Indus itſelf; yet neither Macedon, nor any of the neighbouring provinces of Greece, could ever compare with the ſmall diſtricts of Tyre and Sidon for riches.

War diſperſes wealth in the very inſtant it acquires it; but commerce, well regulated, conſtantly and honeſtly ſupported, carried on with œconomy and punctuality, is the only thing that ever did enrich extenſive kingdoms; and one hundred hands employed at the loom will bring to a country more riches and abundance, than ten thouſand bearing ſpears and ſhields. We need not go far to produce an example that will confirm this. The ſubjects and neighbours of Semiramis had brought ſpices by land into Aſſyria. The Iſhmaelites and Midianites, the merchants and carriers of gold from Ethiopia, and more immediately from Paleſtine, met in her dominions; and there was, for a time, the mart of the Eaſt India trade. But, by an abſurd expedition with an army into India, in hopes to enrich

enrich herſelf all at once, ſhe effectually ruined that commerce, and her kingdom fell immediately afterwards.

Whoever reads the hiſtory of the moſt ancient nations, will find the origin of wealth and power to have riſen in the eaſt; then to have gradually advanced weſtward, ſpreading itſelf at the ſame time north and ſouth. They will find the riches and population of thoſe nations decay in proportion as this trade forſakes them; which cannot but ſuggeſt to a good underſtanding, this truth conſtantly to be found in the diſpoſition of all things in this univerſe, that God makes uſe of the ſmalleſt means and cauſes to operate the greateſt and moſt powerful effects. In his hand a pepper-corn is the foundation of the power, glory, and riches of India; he makes an acorn, and by it communicates power and riches to nations divided from India by thouſands of leagues of ſea.

Let us purſue our conſideration of Egypt. Seſoſtris, before the time we have been juſt ſpeaking of, paſſed with a fleet of large ſhips from the Arabian Gulf into the Indian Ocean; he conquered part of India, and opened to Egypt the commerce of that country by ſea. I enter not into the credibility of the number of his fleet, as there is ſcarce any thing credible left us about the ſhipping and navigation of the ancients, or, at leaſt, that is not full of difficulties and contradictions; my buſineſs is with the expedition, not with the number of the ſhips. It would appear he revived, rather than firſt diſcovered, this way of carrying on the trade to the Eaſt Indies, which, though it was at times intermitted, (perhaps forgot by the Princes who were contending for the ſovereignty of the continent of Aſia), was, nevertheleſs,

leſs, perpetually kept up by the trading nations themſelves, from the ports of India and Africa, and on the Red Sea from Edom.

The pilots from theſe ports alone, of all the world, had a ſecret confined to their own knowledge, upon which the ſucceſs of theſe voyages depended. This was the phænomena of the trade-winds* and monſoons, which the pilots of Seſoſtris knew; and which thoſe of Nearchus ſeem to have taught him only in part, in his voyage afterwards, and of which we are to ſpeak in the ſequel. Hiſtory ſays further of Seſoſtris, that the Egyptians conſidered him as their greateſt benefactor, for having laid open to them the trade both of India and Arabia, for having overturned the dominion of the *Shepherd* kings; and, laſtly, for having reſtored to the Egyptian individuals each their own lands, which had been wreſted from them by the violent hands of the Ethiopian *Shepherds*, during the firſt uſurpation of theſe princes.

In memory of his having happily accompliſhed theſe events, Seſoſtris is ſaid to have built a ſhip of cedar of a hundred and twenty yards in length, the outſide of which he covered with plates of gold, and the inſide with plates of ſilver, and this he dedicated in the temple of Iſis. I will not enter into the defence of the probability of his reaſons for having built a ſhip of this ſize, and for ſuch a purpoſe, as one of ten yards would have ſufficiently anſwered. The

* Theſe are far from being ſynonymous terms, as we ſhall ſee afterwards.

uſe it was made for, was apparently to ſerve for a hieroglyphic, of what he had accompliſhed, viz. that he had laid open the gold and ſilver trade from the mines in Ethiopia, and had navigated the ocean in ſhips made of wood, which were the only ones, he thereby inſinuated, that could be employed in that trade. The Egyptian ſhips, at that time, were all made of the reed papyrus *, covered with ſkins or leather, a conſtruction which no people could venture to preſent to the ocean.

THERE is much to be learned from a proper underſtanding of theſe laſt benefits conferred by Seſoſtris upon his Egyptian ſubjects. When we underſtand theſe, which is very eaſy to any that have travelled in the countries we are ſpeaking of, (for nations and cauſes have changed very little in theſe countries to this day), it will not be difficult to find a ſolution of this problem, What was the commerce that, progreſſively, laid the foundation of all that immenſe grandeur of the eaſt; what poliſhed them, and cloathed them with ſilk, ſcarlet, and gold; and what carried the arts and ſciences among them, to a pitch, perhaps, never yet ſurpaſſed, and this ſome thouſands of years before the nations in Europe had any other habitation than their native woods, or cloathing than the ſkins of beaſts, wild and domeſtic, or government, but that firſt, innate one, which nature had given to the ſtrongeſt?

LET us inquire what was the connection Seſoſtris brought about between Egypt and India; what was that commerce

* See the article papyrus in the Appendix.

of Ethiopia and Arabia, by which he enriched Egypt, and what was their connection with the peninſula of India; who were thoſe kings who bore ſo oppoſite an office, as to be at the ſame time *Shepherds*; and who were thoſe *Shepherds*, near, and powerful enough to wreſt the property of their lands from four million of inhabitants.

To explain this, it will be neceſſary to enter into ſome detail, without which no perſon dipping into the ancient or modern hiſtory of this part of Africa, can have any preciſe idea of it, nor of the different nations inhabiting the peninſula, the ſource of whoſe wealth conſiſted entirely in the early, but well-eſtabliſhed commerce between Africa and India. What will make this ſubject of more eaſy explanation is, that the ancient employment and occupations of theſe people in the firſt ages, were ſtill the ſame that ſubſiſt at this day. The people have altered a little by colonies of ſtrangers being introduced among them, but their manners and employments are the ſame as they originally were. What does not relate to the ancient hiſtory of theſe people, I ſhall only mention in the courſe of my travels when paſſing through, or ſojourning amongſt them.

Providence had created the inhabitants of the peninſula of India under many diſadvantages in point of climate. The high and wholeſome part of the country was covered with barren and rugged mountains; and, at different times of the year, violent rains fell in large currents down the ſides of theſe, which overflowed all the fertile land below; and theſe rains were no ſooner over, than they were ſucceeded by a ſcorching ſun, the effect of which upon the human body, was to render it feeble, enervated, and incapable

of the efforts neceſſary for agriculture. In this flat country, large rivers, that ſcarce had declivity enough to run, crept ſlowly along, through meadows of fat black earth, ſtagnating in many places as they went, rolling an abundance of decayed vegetables, and filling the whole air with exhalations of the moſt corrupt and putrid kind. Even rice, the general food of man, the ſafeſt and moſt friendly to the inhabitants of that country, could not grow but by laying under water the places where it was ſown, and thereby rendering them, for ſeveral months, abſolutely improper for man's dwelling. Providence had done this, but, never failing in its wiſdom, had made to the natives a great deal more than a ſufficient amends.

Their bodies were unfit for the fatigues of agriculture, nor was the land proper for common cultivation. But this country produced ſpices of great variety, eſpecially a ſmall berry called Pepper, ſuppoſed, of all others, and with reaſon, to be the greateſt friend to the health of man. This grew ſpontaneouſly, and was gathered without toil. It was, at once, a perfect remedy for the inclemencies and diſeaſes of the country, as well as the ſource of its riches, from the demand of foreigners. This ſpecies of ſpice is no where known but in India, though equally uſeful in every putrid region, where, unhappily, theſe diſeaſes reign. Providence has not, as in India, placed remedies ſo near them, thus wiſely providing for the welfare of mankind in general, by the dependency it has forced one man to have upon another. In India, and ſimilar climates, this ſpice is not uſed in ſmall quantities, but in ſuch, as to be nearly equal to that of bread.

In cloathing, Providence had not been leſs kind to India. The ſilk worm, with little fatigue and trouble to man, almoſt without his interference, provided for him a ſtuff, at once the ſofteſt, the moſt light and brilliant, and conſequently the beſt adapted to warm countries; and cotton, a vegetable production, growing every where in great abundance, without care, which may be conſidered as almoſt equal to ſilk, in many of its qualities, and ſuperior to it in ſome, afforded a variety ſtill cheaper for more general uſe. Every tree without culture produced them fruit of the moſt excellent kind; every tree afforded them ſhade, under which, with a very light and portable *loom* of cane, they could paſs their lives delightfully in a calm and rational enjoyment, by the gentle exerciſe of weaving, at once providing for the health of their bodies, the neceſſities of their families, and the riches of their country.

But however plentifully their ſpices grew, in whatever quantity the Indians conſumed them, and however generally they wore their own manufactures, the ſuperabundance of both was ſuch, as naturally led them to look out for articles againſt which they might barter their ſuperfluities. This became neceſſary to ſupply the wants of thoſe things that had been with-held from them, for wiſe ends, or which, from wantonneſs, luxury, or ſlender neceſſity, they had created in their own imaginations.

Far to the weſtward of them, but part of the ſame continent, connected by a long deſert, and dangerous coaſt, was the peninſula of Arabia, which produced no ſpices, tho' the neceſſities of its climate ſubjected its inhabitants to the ſame diſeaſes as thoſe in India. In fact, the country and climate

climate were exactly similar, and, consequently, the plentiful use of these warm productions was as necessary there, as in India, the country where they grew.

It is true, Arabia was not abandoned wholly to the inclemency of its climate, as it produced myrrh and frankincense, which, when used as perfumes or fumigations, were powerful antiseptics of their kind, but administered rather as preventatives, than to remove the disorder when it once prevailed. These were kept up at a price, of which, at this day, we have no conception, but which never diminished from any circumstance, under which the country where they grew, laboured.

The silk and cotton of India were white and colourless, liable to soil, and without any variety; but Arabia produced gum and dyes of various colours, which were highly agreeable to the taste of the Asiatics. We find the sacred scriptures speak of the party-coloured garment as the mark of the greatest honour *. Solomon, in his proverbs, too, says, that he decked his bed with coverings of tapestry of Egypt †. But Egypt had neither silk nor cotton manufactory, no, nor even wool. Solomon's coverings, though he had them from Egypt, were therefore an article of barter with India.

Balm, or Balsam ‡, was a commodity produced in Arabia, sold at a very high price, which it kept up till within these few

* Gen. xxxvii. 3 and 2 Sam. xiii. 18. † Prov. vii. 16.

‡ Vide Appendix, where this tree is described.

few centuries in the eaſt; when the Venetians carried on the India trade by Alexandria, this Balſam then ſold for its weight in gold; it grows in the ſame place, and, I believe, nearly in the ſame quantity as ever, but, for very obvious reaſons*, it is now of little value.

The baſis of trade, or a connection between theſe two countries, was laid, then, from the beginning, by the hand of Providence. The wants and neceſſities of the one found a ſupply, or balance from the other. Heaven had placed them not far diſtant, could the paſſage be made by ſea; but violent, ſteady, and unconquerable winds preſented themſelves to make that paſſage of the ocean impoſſible, and we are not to doubt, but, for a very conſiderable time, this was the reaſon why the commerce of India was diffuſed through the continent, by land only, and from this aroſe the riches of Semiramis.

But, however precious the merchandiſe of Arabia was, it was neither in quantity, nor quality, capable of balancing the imports from India. Perhaps they might have paid for as much as was uſed in the peninſula of Arabia itſelf, but, beyond this there was a vaſt continent called Africa, capable of conſuming many hundred fold more than Arabia; which lying under the ſame parallel with India, part of it ſtill farther ſouth, the diſeaſes of the climate, and the wants of its numerous inhabitants, were, in many parts of it, the ſame as thoſe of Arabia and India; beſides which there was the

* The quantity of ſimilar drugs brought from the New World.

the Red Sea, and divers communications to the northward.

Neither their luxuries nor neceſſaries were the ſame as thoſe of Europe. And indeed Europe, at this time, was probably inhabited by ſhepherds, hunters, and fiſhers, who had no luxury at all, or ſuch as could not be ſupplied from India; they lived in woods and marſhes, with the animals which made their ſport, food, and cloathing.

The inhabitants of Africa then, this vaſt Continent, were to be ſupplied with the neceſſaries, as well as the luxuries of life, but they had neither the articles Arabia wanted, nor thoſe required in India, at leaſt, for a time they thought ſo; and ſo long they were not a trading people.

It is a tradition among the Abyſſinians, which they ſay they have had from time immemorial, and which is equally received among the Jews and Chriſtians, that almoſt immediately after the flood, Cuſh, grandſon of Noah, with his family, paſſing through Atbara from the low country of Egypt, then without inhabitants, came to the ridge of mountains which ſtill ſeparates the flat country of Atbara from the more mountainous high-land of Abyſſinia.

By caſting his eye upon the map, the reader will ſee a chain of mountains, beginning at the Iſthmus of Suez, that runs all along like a wall, about forty miles from the Red Sea, till it divides in lat. 13°, into two branches. The one goes along the northern frontiers of Abyſſinia, croſſes the Nile, and then proceeds weſtward, through Africa towards the Atlantic Ocean. The other branch goes ſouthward, and then

then eaſt, taking the form of the Arabian Gulf; after which, it continues ſouthward all along the Indian Ocean, in the ſame manner as it did in the beginning all along, the Red Sea, that is parallel to the coaſt.

Their tradition ſays, that, terrified with the late dreadful event the flood, ſtill recent in their minds, and apprehenſive of being again involved in a ſimilar calamity, they choſe for their habitation caves in the ſides of theſe mountains, rather than truſt themſelves again on the plain. It is more than probable, that, ſoon after their arrival, meeting here with the tropical rains, which, for duration, ſtill exceed the days that occaſioned the flood, and obſerving, that going through Atbara, that part of Nubia between the Nile and Aſtaboras, afterwards called Meroë, from a dry climate at firſt, they had after fallen in with rains, and as thoſe rains increaſed in proportion to their advancing ſouthward, they choſe to ſtop at the firſt mountains, where the country was fertile and pleaſant, rather than proceed farther at the riſk of involving themſelves, perhaps in a land of floods, that might prove as fatal to their poſterity as that of Noah had been to their anceſtors.

This is a conjecture from probability, only mentioned for illuſtration, for the motives that guided them cannot certainly be known; but it is an undoubted fact, that here the Cuſhites, with unparalleled induſtry, and with inſtruments utterly unknown to us, formed for themſelves commodious, yet wonderful habitations in the heart of mountains of granite and marble, which remain entire in great numbers to this day, and promiſe to do ſo till the conſummation of all things. This original kind of dwellings ſoon ex-

tended themſelves through the neighbouring mountains. As the Cuſhites grew populous, they occupied thoſe that were next them, ſpreading the induſtry and arts which they cultivated, as well to the eaſtern as to the weſtern ocean, but, content with their firſt choice, they never deſcended from their caves, nor choſe to reſide at a diſtance on the plain.

It is very ſingular that St Jerome does not know where to look for this family, or deſcendents of Cuſh; though they are as plainly pointed out, and as often alluded to by ſcripture, as any nation in the Old Teſtament. They are deſcribed, moreover, by the particular circumſtances of their country, which have never varied, to be in the very place where I now fix them, and where, ever ſince, they have remained, and ſtill do to this preſent hour, in the ſame mont ains, and the ſame houſes of ſtone they formed for themſelves in the beginning. And yet Bochart *, profeſſedly treating this ſubject, as it were induſtriouſly, involves it in more than Egyptian darkneſs. I rather refer the reader to his work, to judge for himſelf, than, quoting it by extracts, communicate the confuſion of his ideas to my narrative.

The Abyſſinian tradition further ſays, they built the city of Axum ſome time early in the days of Abraham. Soon after this, they puſhed their colony down to Atbara, where we know from Herodotus *, they early and ſucceſsfully purſued their ſtudies, from which, Joſephus ſays‡, they were called Meroëtes, or inhabitants of the iſland of Meroë.

The

* Boch. lib. 4. cap. 3. † Herod. lib. 2. cap. 29. ‡ Joſeph. antiquit. Jud.

THE prodigious fragments of coloſſal ſtatues of the dog-ſtar, ſtill to be ſeen at Axum, ſufficiently ſhew what a material object of their attention they conſidered him to be; and Seir, which in the language of the Troglodytes, and in that of the low country of Meroë, exactly correſponding to it, ſignifies a *dog*, inſtructs us in the reaſon why this province was called *Sirè*, and the large river which bounds it, *Siris*.

I APPREHEND the reaſon why, without forſaking their ancient domiciles in the mountains, they choſe this ſituation for another city, Meroë, was owing to an imperfection they had diſcovered (both in Sirè and in their caves below it) to reſult from their climate. They were within the tropical rains; and, conſequently, were impeded and interrupted in the neceſſary obſervations of the heavenly bodies, and the progreſs of aſtronomy which they ſo warmly cultivated. They muſt have ſeen, likewiſe, a neceſſity of building Meroë farther from them than perhaps they wiſhed, for the ſame reaſon they built Axum in the high country of Abyſſinia in order to avoid the fly (a phænomenon of which I ſhall afterwards ſpeak) which purſued them everywhere within the limits of the rains, and which muſt have given an abſolute law in thoſe firſt times to the regulations of the Cuſhite ſettlements. They therefore went the length of lat. 16°, where I ſaw the ruins ſuppoſed to be thoſe of Meroë*, and caves in the mountains immediately above that ſituation, which I cannot doubt were the temporary habitation of the builders of that firſt ſeminary of learning.

* At Geni in my return through the deſert.

It is probable that, immediately upon their ſucceſs at Meroë, they loſt no time in ſtretching on to Thebes. We know that it was a colony of Ethiopians, and probably from Meroë, but whether directly, or not, we are not certain. A very ſhort time might have paſſed between the two eſtabliſhments, for we find above Thebes, as there are above Meroë, a vaſt number of caves, which the colony made proviſionally, upon its firſt arrival, and which are very near the top of the mountain, all inhabited to this day.

Hence we may infer, that their ancient apprehenſions of a deluge had not left them whilſt, they ſaw the whole land of Egypt could be overflowed every year without rain falling upon it; that they did not abſolutely, as yet, truſt to the ſtability of towns like thoſe of Sirè and Meroë, placed upon columns or ſtones, one laid upon the other, or otherwiſe, that they found their excavations in the mountains were finiſhed with leſs trouble, and more comfortable when complete, than the houſes that were built. It was not long before they aſſumed a greater degree of courage.

CHAP. II.

Saba and the South of Africa peopled—Shepherds, their particular Employment and Circumſtances—Abyſſinia occupied by ſeven ſtranger Nations—Specimens of their ſeveral Languages—Conjectures concerning them.

WHILE theſe improvements were going on ſo proſperouſly in the central and northern territory of the deſcendents of Cuſh, their brethren to the ſouth were not idle, they had extended themſelves along the mountains that run parallel to the Arabian Gulf; which was in all times called Saba, or Azabo, both which ſignify *South*, not becauſe Saba was ſouth of Jeruſalem, but becauſe it was on the ſouth coaſt of the Arabian Gulf, and, from Arabia and Egypt, was the firſt land to the ſouthward which bounded the African Continent, then richer, more important, and better known, than the reſt of the world. By that acquiſition, they enjoyed all the perfumes and aromatics in the eaſt, myrrh, and frankincenſe, and caſſia; all which grow ſpontaneouſly in that ſtripe of ground, from the Bay of Bilur weſt of Azab, to Cape Gardefan, and then ſouthward up in the Indian Ocean, to near the coaſt of Melinda, where there is cinnamon, but of an inferior kind.

Arabia probably had not then ſet itſelf up as a rival to this ſide of the Red Sea, nor had it introduced from Abyſſinia the myrrh and frankincenſe, as it did afterwards, for there is no doubt that the principal mart, and growth of theſe gums, were always near Saba. Upon the conſumption increaſing, they, however, were tranſplanted thence into Arabia, where the myrrh has not ſucceeded.

The Troglodyte extended himſelf ſtill farther ſouth. As an aſtronomer, he was to diſengage himſelf from the tropical rains and cloudy ſkies that hindered his correſpondent obſervations with his countrymen at Meroë and Thebes. As he advanced within the ſouthern tropic, he, however, ſtill found rains, and made his houſes ſuch as the fears of a deluge had inſtructed him to do. He found there ſolid and high mountains, in a fine climate; but, luckier than his countrymen to the northward, he found gold and ſilver in large quantities, which determined his occupation, and made the riches and conſequence of his country. In theſe mountains, called *the Mountains of Sofala*, large quantities of both metals were diſcovered in their pure unmixed ſtate, lying in globules without alloy, or any neceſſity of preparation or ſeparation.

The balance of trade, ſo long againſt the Arabian and African continents, turned now in their favour from the immenſe influx of theſe precious metals, found in the mountains of Sofala, juſt on the verge of the ſouthern tropical rains.

Gold and ſilver had been fixed upon in India as proper returns for their manufactures and produce. It is impoſſible

ble to ſay whether it was from their hardneſs or beauty, or what other reaſon governed the mind of man in making this ſtandard of barter. The hiſtory of the particular tranſactions of thoſe times is loſt, if, indeed, there ever was ſuch hiſtory, and, therefore, all further inquiries are in vain. The choice, it ſeems, was a proper one, ſince it has continued unaltered ſo many ages in India, and has been univerſally adopted by all nations pretty much in the proportion or value as in India, into which continent gold and ſilver, from this very early period, began to flow, have continued ſo to do to this day, and in all probability will do to the end of time. What has become of that immenſe quantity of bullion, how it is conſumed, or where it is depoſited, and which way, if ever it returns, are doubts which I never yet found a perſon that could ſatisfactorily ſolve.

The Cuſhite then inhabited the mountains, whilſt the northern colonies advanced from Meroë to Thebes, buſy and intent upon the improvement of architecture, and building of towns, which they began to ſubſtitute for their caves; they thus became traders, farmers, artificers of all kinds, and even practical aſtronomers, from having a meridian night and day free from clouds, for ſuch was that of the Thebaid. As this was impoſſible to their brethren, and ſix months continual rain confined them to theſe caves, we cannot doubt but that their ſedentary life made them uſeful in reducing the many obſervations daily made by thoſe of their countrymen who lived under a purer ſky. Letters too, at leaſt one ſort of them, and arithmetical characters, we are told, were invented by this middle part of the Cuſhites, while trade and aſtronomy, the natural hiſtory of the winds

and ſeaſons, were what neceſſarily employed the part of the colony eſtabliſhed at Sofala moſt to the ſouthward.

THE very nature of the Cuſhites commerce, the collecting of gold, the gathering and preparing his ſpices, neceſſarily fixed him perpetually at home; but his profit lay in the diſperſing of theſe ſpices through the continent, otherwiſe his mines, and the trade produced by the poſſeſſion of them, were to him of little avail.

A CARRIER was abſolutely neceſſary to the Cuſhite, and Providence had provided him one in a nation which were his neighbours. Theſe were in moſt reſpects different, as they had long hair, European features, very duſky and dark complexion, but nothing like the black-moor or negro; they lived in plains, having moveable huts or habitations, attended their numerous cattle, and wandered from the neceſſities and particular circumſtances of their country. Theſe people were in the Hebrew called *Phut*, and, in all other languages, *Shepherds;* they are ſo ſtill, for they ſtill exiſt; they ſubſiſt by the ſame occupation, never had another, and therefore cannot be miſtaken; they are called Balous, Bagla, Belowee, Berberi, Barabra, Zilla and Habab*, which all ſignify but one thing, namely that of *Shepherd.* From their place of habitation, the territory has been called *Barbaria* by the Greeks and Romans, from Berber, in the original ſignifying *ſhepherd.* The authors that ſpeak of the Shepherds ſeem to know little of thoſe of the *Thebaid*, and ſtill leſs

* It is very probable, ſome of theſe words ſignified different degrees among them, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

leſs of thoſe of *Ethiopia*, whilſt they fall immediately upon the ſhepherds of the Delta, that they may get the ſooner rid of them, and thruſt them into Aſſyria, Paleſtine, and Arabia. They never ſay what their origin was; how they came to be ſo powerful; what was their occupation; or, properly, the land they inhabited; or what is become of them now, though they ſeem inclined to think the race extinct.

The whole employment of the ſhepherds had been the diſperſing of the Arabian and African goods all over the continent; they had, by that employment, riſen to be a great people: as that trade increaſed, their quantity of cattle increaſed alſo, and conſequently their numbers, and the extent of their territory.

Upon looking at the map, the reader will ſee a chain of mountains which I have deſcribed, and which run in a high ridge nearly ſtraight north, along the Indian Ocean, in a direction parallel to the coaſt, where they end at Cape Gardefan. They then take the direction of the coaſt, and run weſt from Cape Gardefan to the Straits of Babelmandeb, incloſing the frankincenſe and myrrh country, which extends conſiderably to the weſt of Azab. From Babelmandeb they run northward, parallel to the Red Sea, till they end in the ſandy plain at the Iſthmus of Suez, a name probably derived from Suah, *Shepherds*.

Although this ſtripe of land along the Indian Ocean, and afterwards along the Red Sea, was neceſſary to the ſhepherds, becauſe they carried their merchandiſe to the ports there, and thence to Thebes and Memphis upon the Nile, yet the principal ſeat of their reſidence and power was that

flat part of Africa between the northern tropic and the mountains of Abyſſinia. This is divided into various diſtricts; it reaches from Maſuah along the ſea-coaſt to Suakem, then turns weſtward, and continues in that direction, having the Nile on the ſouth, the tropic on the north, to the deſerts of Selima, and the confines of Libya on the weſt. This large extent of country is called *Beja.* The next is that diſtrict * in form of a ſhield, as Meroë is ſaid to have been; this name was given it by Cambyſes. It is between the Nile and Aſtaboras, and is now called Atbara. Between the river Mareb, the ancient Aſtuſaſpes on the eaſt, and Atbara on the weſt, is the ſmall plain territory of Derkin, another diſtrict of the ſhepherds. All that range of mountains running eaſt and weſt, incloſing Derkin and Atbara on the ſouth, and which begins the mountainous country of Abyſſinia, is inhabited by the negro woolly-headed Cuſhite, or Shangalla, living as formerly in caves, who, from having been the moſt cultivated and inſtructed people in the world, have, by a ſtrange reverſe of fortune, relapſed into brutal ignorance, and are hunted by their neighbours like wild beaſts in thoſe foreſts, where they uſed to reign in the utmoſt luxury, liberty, and ſplendour. But the nobleſt, and moſt warlike of all the ſhepherds, were thoſe that inhabited the mountains of the Habab, a conſiderable ridge reaching from the neighbourhood of Maſuah to Suakem, and who ſtill dwell there.

In the ancient language of this country, *So*, or *Suah*, ſignified ſhepherd, or ſhepherds; though we do not know any particular rank or degrees among them, yet we may ſuppoſe theſe called ſimply *ſhepherds* were the common ſort that attended the

* Diod. Sic. lib. 1. cap.

the flocks. Another denomination, part of them bore, was *Hycſos*, founded by us Agſos, which ſignifies *armed ſhepherds*, or ſuch as wore harneſs, which may be ſuppoſed the ſoldiers, or armed force of that nation. The third we ſee mentioned is Ag-ag, which is thought to be the nobles or chiefs of thoſe armed ſhepherds, whence came their title *King of Kings* *. The plural of this is Agagi, or, as it is written in the Ethiopic, Agaazi.

This term has very much puzzled both Scaliger and Ludolf; for, finding in the Abyſſinian books that they are called Agaazi, they torment themſelves about finding the etymology of that word. They imagine them to be Arabs from near the Red Sea, and Mr Ludolf† thinks the term ſignifies *baniſhed men*. Scaliger, too, has various gueſſes about them nearly to the ſame import. All this, however, is without foundation; the people aſſert themſelves at this day to be Agaazi, that is, a race of Shepherds inhabiting the mountains of the Habab, and have by degrees extended themſelves through the whole province of Tigré, whoſe capital is called Axum, from Ag and Suah, the metropolis, or principal city of the ſhepherds that wore arms.

Nothing was more oppoſite than the manners and life of the Cuſhite, and his carrier the ſhepherd. The firſt, though he had forſaken his caves, and now lived in cities which he had built, was neceſſarily confined at home by his commerce, amaſſing gold, arranging the invoices of his

* This was the name of the king of Amalek; he was an Arab ſhepherd, ſlain by Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 33.

† Ludolf lib. 1 cap. 4.

ſpices, hunting in the ſeaſon to provide himſelf with ivory, and food throughout the winter. His mountains, and the cities he built afterwards, were ſituated upon a loomy, black earth, ſo that as ſoon as the tropical rains began to fall, a wonderful phænomenon deprived him of his cattle. Large ſwarms of flies appeared wherever that loomy earth was, which made him abſolutely dependent in this reſpect upon the ſhepherd, but this affected the ſhepherd alſo.

This inſect is called *Zimb;* it has not been deſcribed by any naturaliſt. It is in ſize very little larger than a bee, of a thicker proportion, and his wings, which are broader than thoſe of a bee, placed ſeparate like thoſe of a fly; they are of pure gauze, without colour or ſpot upon them; the head is large, the upper jaw or lip is ſharp, and has at the end of it a ſtrong-pointed hair of about a quarter of an inch long; the lower jaw has two of theſe pointed hairs, and this pencil of hairs, when joined together, makes a reſiſtence to the finger nearly equal to that of a ſtrong hog's briſtle. Its legs are ſerrated in the inſide, and the whole covered with brown hair or down. As ſoon as this plague appears, and their buzzing is heard, all the cattle forſake their food, and run wildly about the plain, till they die, worn out with fatigue, fright, and hunger. No remedy remains, but to leave the black earth, and haſten down to the ſands of Atbara, and there they remain while the rains laſt, this cruel enemy never daring to purſue them farther.

What enables the ſhepherd to perform the long and toilſome journies acroſs Africa is the camel, emphatically called by the Arabs, the *ſhip of the deſert.* He ſeems to have been created for this very trade, endued with parts and qualities

qualities adapted to the office he is employed to diſcharge. The drieſt thiſtle, and the bareſt thorn, is all the food this uſeful quadruped requires, and even theſe, to ſave time, he eats while advancing on his journey, without ſtopping, or occaſioning a moment of delay. As it is his lot to croſs immenſe deſerts, where no water is found, and countries not even moiſtened by the dew of heaven, he is endued with the power at one watering-place to lay in a ſtore, with which he ſupplies himſelf for thirty days to come. To contain this enormous quantity of fluid, Nature has formed large ciſterns within him, from which, once filled, he draws at pleaſure the quantity he wants, and pours it into his ſtomach with the ſame effect as if he then drew it from a ſpring, and with this he travels, patiently and vigorouſly, all day long, carrying a prodigious load upon him, through countries infected with poiſonous winds, and glowing with parching and never-cooling ſands. Though his ſize is immenſe, as is his ſtrength, and his body covered with a thick ſkin, defended with ſtrong hair, yet ſtill he is not capable to ſuſtain the violent punctures the fly makes with his pointed proboſcis. He muſt loſe no time in removing to the ſands of Atbara; for, when once attacked by this fly, his body, head, and legs break out into large boſſes, which ſwell, break, and putrify, to the certain deſtruction of the creature.

Even the elephant and rhinoceros, who, by reaſon of their enormous bulk, and the vaſt quantity of food and water they daily need, cannot ſhift to deſert and dry places as the ſeaſon may require, are obliged to roll themſelves in mud and mire, which, when dry, coats them over like armour, and enables them to ſtand their ground againſt this winged aſſaſſin; yet I have found ſome of theſe tubercules

upon almoſt every elephant and rhinoceros that I have ſeen, and attribute them to this cauſe.

All the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt of Melinda, down to Cape Gardefan, to Saba, and the ſouth coaſt of the Red Sea, are obliged to put themſelves in motion, and remove to the next ſand in the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon, to prevent all their ſtock of cattle from being deſtroyed. This is not a partial emigration; the inhabitants of all the countries from the mountains of Abyſſinia northward, to the confluence of the Nile and Aſtaboras, are once a-year obliged to change their abode, and ſeek protection in the ſands of Beja; nor is there any alternative, or means of avoiding this, though a hoſtile band was in their way, capable of ſpoiling them of half their ſubſtance; and this is now actually the caſe, as we ſhall ſee when we come to ſpeak of Sennaar.

Of all thoſe that have written upon theſe countries, the prophet Iſaiah alone has given an account of this animal, and the manner of its operation. Iſa. vii. ch. 18. and 19. ver. "And it ſhall come to paſs, in that day, that the Lord ſhall "*hiſs* for the fly that is in the uttermoſt part of the rivers of "Egypt,"---"And they ſhall come, and ſhall reſt all of them "in the deſolate vallies *, and in the holes of the rocks, and "upon all thorns, and upon all buſhes."

The mountains that I have already ſpoken of, as running through the country of the Shepherds, divide the ſeaſons by

* That is, they ſhall cut off from the cattle their uſual retreat to the deſert, by taking poſſeſſion of thoſe places, and meeting them there where ordinarily they never come, and which therefore are the refuge of the cattle.

by a line drawn along their ſummit, ſo exactly, that, while the eaſtern ſide, towards the Red Sea, is deluged with rain for the ſix months that conſtitute our *winter* in Europe, the weſtern ſide towards Atbara enjoys a perpetual ſun, and active vegetation. Again, the ſix months, when it is our *ſummer* in Europe, Atbara, or the weſtern ſide of theſe mountains, is conſtantly covered with clouds and rain, while, for the ſame time, the ſhepherd on the eaſtern ſide, towards the Red Sea, feeds his flocks in the moſt exuberant foliage and luxuriant verdure, enjoying the fair weather, free from the fly or any other moleſtation. Theſe great advantages have very naturally occaſioned theſe countries of Atbara and Beja to be the principal reſidence of the ſhepherd and his cattle, and have entailed upon him the neceſſity of a perpetual change of places. Yet ſo little is this inconvenience, ſo ſhort the peregrination, that, from the rain on the weſt ſide, a man, in the ſpace of four hours, will change to the oppoſite ſeaſon, and find himſelf in ſun-ſhine to the eaſtward.

When Carthage was built, the carriage of this commercial city fell into the hands of Lehabim, or Lubim, the Libyan peaſants, and became a great acceſſion to the trade, power, and number of the ſhepherds. In countries to which there was no acceſs by ſhipping, the end of navigation was nearly anſwered by the immenſe increaſe of camels; and this trade, we find, was carried on in the very earlieſt ages on the Arabian ſide, by the Iſhmaelite merchants trading to Paleſtine and Syria, from the ſouth end of the peninſula, with camels. This we learn particularly from Geneſis, they brought myrrh and ſpices, or pepper, and ſold them for

4 ſilver;

ſilver; they had alſo balm, or balſam, but this it ſeems, in thoſe days, they brought from Gilead.

We are ſorry, in reading this curious anecdote preſerved to us in ſcripture, to find, in thoſe early ages of the India trade, that another ſpecies of commerce was cloſely connected with it, which modern philanthropy has branded as the diſgrace of human nature. It is plain, from the paſſage, the commerce of ſelling men was then univerſally eſtabliſhed. Joſeph* is bought as readily, and ſold as currently immediately after, as any ox or camel could be at this day. Three nations, Javan, Tubal, and Meſhech†, are mentioned as having their principal trade at Tyre in the ſelling of men; and, as late as St John's time‡, this is mentioned as a principal part of the trade of Babylon; notwithſtanding which, no prohibition from God, or cenſure from the prophets, have ever ſtigmatized it either as irreligious or immoral; on the contrary, it is always ſpoken of as favourably as any ſpecies of commerce whatever. For this, and many other reaſons which I could mention, I cannot think, that purchaſing ſlaves is, in itſelf, either cruel or unnatural. To purchaſe any living creature to abuſe it afterwards, is certainly both baſe and criminal; and the crime becomes ſtill of a deeper dye, when our fellow-creatures come to be the ſufferers. But, although this is an abuſe which accidentally follow the trade, it is no neceſſary part of the trade itſelf; and, it is againſt this abuſe the wiſdom of the legiſlature ſhould be directed, not againſt the trade itſelf.

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* Gen. chap. xxxvii. ver. 25. 28. † Ezek. chap. xxvii. ver. 13.

‡ Rev. chap. xviii. ver. 13.

On the eaſtern ſide of the peninſula of Africa, many thouſand ſlaves are ſold to Aſia, perfectly in the ſame manner as thoſe on the weſt ſide are ſent to the Weſt Indies; but no one, that ever I heard, has as yet opened his mouth againſt the ſale of Africans to the Eaſt Indies; and yet there is an aggravation in this laſt ſale of ſlaves that ſhould touch us much more than the other, where no ſuch additional grievance can be pretended. The ſlaves ſold into Aſia are moſt of them Chriſtians; they are ſold to Mahometans, and, with their liberty, they are certainly deprived of their religion likewiſe. But the treatment of the Aſiatics being much more humane than what the Africans, ſold to the Weſt Indies, meet with, no clamour has yet been raiſed againſt this commerce in Aſia, becauſe its only bad conſequence is apoſtacy; a proof to me that religion has no part in the preſent diſpute, or, as I have ſaid, it is the abuſe that accidentally follows the purchaſing of ſlaves, not the trade itſelf, that ſhould be conſidered as the grievance.

It is plain from all hiſtory, that two abominable practices, the one the eating of men, the other of ſacrificing them to the devil, prevailed all over Africa. The India trade, as we have ſeen in very early ages, firſt eſtabliſhed the buying and ſelling of ſlaves; ſince that time, the eating of men, or ſacrificing them, has ſo greatly decreaſed on the eaſtern ſide of the peninſula, that now we ſcarcely hear of an inſtance of either of theſe that can be properly vouched. On the weſtern part, towards the Atlantic Ocean, where the ſale of ſlaves began a conſiderable time later, after the diſcovery of America and the Weſt Indies, both of theſe horrid practices are, as it were, general, though, I am told, leſs ſo to the northward ſince that event.

There is ſtill alive a man of the name of Matthews, who was preſent at one of thoſe bloody banquets on the weſt of Africa, to the northward of Senega. It is probable the continuation of the ſlave-trade would have aboliſhed theſe, in time, on the weſt ſide alſo. Many other reaſons could be alledged, did my plan permit it. But I ſhall content myſelf at preſent, with ſaying, that I very much fear that a relaxation and effeminacy of manners, rather than genuine tenderneſs of heart, has been the cauſe of this violent paroxyſm of philanthropy, and of ſome other meaſures adopted of late to the diſcouragement of diſcipline, which I do not doubt will ſoon be felt to contribute their mite to the decay both of trade and navigation that will neceſſarily follow.

The Ethiopian ſhepherds at firſt carried on the trade on their own ſide of the Red Sea; they carried their India commodities to Thebes, likewiſe to the different black nations to the ſouth-weſt; in return, they brought back gold, probably at a cheaper rate, becauſe certainly by a ſhorter carriage than by that from Ophir.

Thebes became exceedingly rich and proud, though, by the moſt extenſive area that ever was aſſigned to it, it never could be either large or populous. Thebes is not mentioned in ſcripture by that name; it was deſtroyed before the days of Moſes by Salatis prince of the Agaazi, or Ethiopian ſhepherds; at this day it has aſſumed a name very like the ancient one. The firſt ſignification of its name, Medinet Tabu, I thought was the Town of our Father. This, hiſtory ſays, was given it by Seſoſtris in honour of his father; in the ancient language, its name was *Ammon No.* The next that preſented itſelf was Theba, which was the Hebrew name

name for the Ark when Noah was ordered to build it—Thou ſhalt "make thee an Ark (Theba) of gopher-wood*."

The figure of the temples in Thebes do not ſeem to be far removed from the idea given us of the Ark. The third conjecture is, that being the firſt city built and ſupported on pillars, and, on different and ſeparate pieces of ſtone, it got its name from the architects firſt expreſſion of approbation or ſurpriſe, Tabu, that it ſtood inſulated and alone, and this ſeems to me to be the moſt conformable both to the Hebrew and Ethiopic.

The ſhepherds, for the moſt part, friends and allies of the Egyptians, or Cuſhite, at times were enemies to them. We need not, at this time of day, ſeek the cauſe; there are many very apparent, from oppoſite manners, and, above all, the difference in the dietetique regimen. The Egyptians worſhipped the cow, the Shepherds killed and ate her. The Shepherds were Sabeans, worſhipping the hoſt of heaven—the ſun, moon, and ſtars. Immediately upon the building of Thebes and the perfection of ſculpture, idolatry and the groſſeſt materialiſm greatly corrupted the more pure and ſpeculative religion of the Sabeans. Soon after the building of Thebes, we ſee that Rachel, Abraham's wife, had idols †; we need ſeek no other probable cauſe of the devaſtation that followed, than difference of religion.

Thebes was deſtroyed by Salatis, who overturned the firſt Dynaſty of Cuſhite, or Egyptian kings, begun by Menes, in what is called the ſecond age of the world, and

* Gen. vi. 14. † Gen. xxxv. 4.

founded the firſt Dynaſty of the Shepherds, who behaved very cruelly, and wreſted the lands from their firſt owners; and it was this Dynaſty that Seſoſtris deſtroyed, after calling Thebes by his father's name, Ammon No, making thoſe decorations that we have ſeen of the harp in the ſepulchres on the weſt, and building Dioſpolis on the oppoſite ſide of the river. The ſecond conqueſt of Egypt by the Shepherds was that under Sabaco, by whom it has been imagined Thebes was deſtroyed, in the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah, who is ſaid to have made peace with So * king of Egypt, as the tranſlator has called him, miſtaking So for the name of the king, whereas it only denoted his quality of ſhepherd.

From this it is plain, all that the ſcripture mentions about Ammon No, applies to Dioſpolis on the other ſide of the river. Ammon No and Dioſpolis, though they were on different ſides of the river, were conſidered as one city, thro' which the Nile flowed, dividing it into two parts. This is plain from profane hiſtory, as well as from the prophet Nahum †, who deſcribes it very exactly, if in place of the word *ſea* was ſubſtituted *river*, as it ought to be.

There was a third invaſion of the Shepherds after the building of Memphis, where a ‡ king of Egypt § is ſaid to have incloſed two hundred and forty thouſand of them in a city called *Abaris;* they ſurrendered upon capitulation, and were baniſhed the country into the land of Canaan. That two hundred and forty thouſand men ſhould be incloſed

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* 2 Kings, xvii. 4. † Nahum, chap. iii. 8. ‡ Miſphragmuthoſis. § Manethon, Apud. Joſephum Apion. lib. 1. p. 460.

incloſed in one city, ſo as to bear a ſiege, ſeems to me extremely improbable; but be it ſo, all that it can mean is, that Memphis, built in Lower Egypt near the Delta, had war with the Shepherds of the Iſthmus of Suez, or the diſtricts near them, as thoſe of Thebes had before with the Shepherds of the Thebaid. But, however much has been written upon the ſubject, the total expulſion of the Shepherds at any one time by any King of Egypt, or at any one place, muſt be fabulous, as they have remained in their ancient ſeats, and do remain to this day; perhaps in not ſo great a number as when the India trade was carried on by the Arabian Gulf, yet ſtill in greater numbers than any other nation of the Continent.

The mountains which the Agaazi inhabit, are called *Habab*, from which it comes, that they themſelves have got that name. Habab, in their language, and in Arabic likewiſe, ſignifies a *ſerpent*, and this I ſuppoſe explains that hiſtorical fable in the book of Axum, which ſays, a ſerpent conquered the province of Tigré, and reigned there.

It may be aſked, Is there no other people that inhabit Abyſſinia, but theſe two nations, the Cuſhites and the Shepherds? Are there no other nations, whiter or fairer than them, living to the ſouthward of the Agaazi? Whence did theſe come? At what time, and by what name are they called? To this I anſwer, That there are various nations which agree with this deſcription, who have each a particular name, and who are all known by that of *Habeſh*, in Latin *Convenæ*, ſignifying a number of diſtinct people meeting accidentally in one place. The word has been greatly miſunderſtood, and miſapplied, both by Scaliger and Ludolf, and

a number of others; but nothing is more conſonant to the hiſtory of the country than the tranſlation I have given it, nor will the word itſelf bear any other.

The Chronicle of Axum, the moſt ancient repoſitory of the antiquities of that country, a book eſteemed, I ſhall not ſay how properly, as the firſt in authority after the holy ſcriptures, ſays, that between the creation of the world and the birth of our Saviour there were 5500 years *; that Abyſſinia had never been inhabited till 1808 years before Chriſt *; and 200 years after that, which was in the 1600, it was laid waſte by a flood, the face of the country much changed and deformed, ſo that it was denominated at that time Ourè Midre, or, *the country laid waſte*, or, as it is called in ſcripture itſelf, a land which the waters or floods had ſpoiled †; that about the 1400 year before Chriſt it was taken poſſeſſion of by a variety of people ſpeaking different languages, who, as they were in friendſhip with the Agaazi, or Shepherds, poſſeſſing the high country of Tigrè, came and ſat down beſide them in a peaceable manner, each occupying the lands that were before him. This ſettlement is what the Chronicle of Axum calls *Angaba*, the entry and eſtabliſhment of theſe nations, which finiſhed the peopling of Abyſſinia.

Tradition further ſays, that they came from Paleſtine. All this ſeems to me to wear the face of truth. Some time after the year 1500, we know there happened a flood which occaſioned

* Eight years leſs than the Greeks and other followers of the Septuagint.
† Iſaiah, chap. xviii. ver. 2.

occaſioned great devaſtation. Pauſanius ſays, that this flood happened in Ethiopia in the reign of Cecrops; and, about the 1490 before Chriſt, the Iſraelites entered the land of promiſe, under Caleb and Joſhua. We are not to wonder at the great impreſſion that invaſion made upon the minds of the inhabitants of Paleſtine. We ſee by the hiſtory of the harlot, that the different nations had been long informed by prophecies, current and credited among themſelves, that they were to be extirpated before the face of the Iſraelites, who for ſome time had been hovering about their frontiers. But now when Joſhua had paſſed the Jordan, after having miraculouſly dried up the river * before his army had invaded Canaan, and had taken and deſtroyed Jericho, a panic ſeized the whole people of Syria and Paleſtine.

These petty ſtates, many in number, and who had all different languages, ſeeing a conqueror with an immenſe army already in poſſeſſion of part of their country, and who did not conduct himſelf according to the laws of other conquerors, but put the vanquiſhed under ſaws and harrows of iron, and deſtroyed the men, women, and children; and ſometimes even the cattle, by the ſword, no longer could think of waiting the arrival of ſuch an enemy, but fought for ſafety by ſpeedy flight or emigration. The Shepherds in Abyſſinia and Atbara were the moſt natural refuge theſe fugitives could ſeek; commerce muſt have long made them acquainted with each others manners, and they

* Joſhua, iii. 16.

muſt have been already entitled to the rights of hoſpitality by having often paſſed through each other's country.

PROCOPIUS* mentions that two pillars were ſtanding in his time on the coaſt of Mauritania, oppoſite to Gibraltar, upon which were inſcriptions in the Phœnician tongue: "We are "Canaanites, flying from the face of Joſhua, the ſon of Nun, "the *robber*:" A character they naturally gave him from the ferocity and violence of his manners. Now, if what theſe inſcriptions contain is true, it is much more credible, that the different nations, emigrating at that time, ſhould ſeek their ſafety near hand among their friends, rather than go to an immenſe diſtance to Mauritania, to riſk a precarious reception among ſtrangers, and perhaps that country not yet inhabited.

UPON viewing the ſeveral countries in which theſe nations have their ſettlements, it ſeems evident they were made by mutual conſent, and in peace; they are not ſeparated from each other by chains of mountains, or large and rapid rivers, but generally by ſmall brooks, dry the greateſt part of the year; by hillocks, or ſmall mounds of earth, or imaginary lines traced to the top of ſome mountain at a diſtance; theſe boundaries have never been diſputed or altered, but remain upon the old tradition to this day. Theſe have all different languages, as we ſee from ſcripture all the petty ſtates of Paleſtine had, but they have no letters, or written character, but the Geez, the character of

* Procop. de bello vand. lib. 2. cap. 10.

* A Mooriſh author, Ibn el Raquique, ſays, this inſcription was on a ſtone on a mountain at Carthage. Marmol. lib. 1. cap. 25.

Geez

መሐልየ፡ መሐልይ፡ ዝውስቱ፡ ዘሰ
ሎዎን፡ ይሰሰመኒ፡ በስሰመተ፡ አፈሁ፡
አደም፡ አጥበትኪ፡ አምወይን፡፡ ወመ
ዓዘ፡ ሰፍረትኪ፡ አምኩሎ፡ አፈወ፡፡=፡
ዕፍረትሰ፡ ዘተሠውጠ፡ ስመከ፡፡ ወበ
አንተዝ፡ ደናግል፡ አፍቀራከ፡፡ ወሰ
ሐበከ፡ ድኅሬከ፡ በመዓዘ፡ ዕፍራትከ፡
ንረወፅ፡፡ አብአኒ፡ ንጉሣ፡ ውሰተ፡
ጽናሑ፡፡ ንተፋሣሕ፡ ወንትሐሠይ፡
ብከ፡፡ ናፈቅር፡ አጥበተኪ፡ አምወይ
ን፡፡ ወናቱዕ፡ አፍቅሮትኪ፡፡ ጻለም፡
አነ፡ ወሠናይት፡ አምአወልደ፡ ኢየሩ
ሰሌም፡፡ ከመ፡ ምጽአላተ፡ ቄደር፡ ወ
ሐይመታተ፡ ሰሎዎን፡፡ ኢትርአያኒ፡
አሰመ፡ አነ፡ ሱሳም፡፡ እሰመ፡ ኢርእያ
ኒ፡ ዐሐይ፡፡ ደቂቀ፡ አምየ፡ ተበአሰ
በአንቲአየ፡፡ አንበሩኒ፡ ዓቃቢተ፡ ዓ
ፀደ፡ ወይንዓፀደ፡ ወይን፡ ዘዚአያ፡
ኢዓቀብኩ፡፡ ንጎረኒ፡ ዘአፈቀራት፡
ነፍሰየ፡፡ አይቴ፡ ትሬኢ፡ ወአይቴ፡
ትሰክብ፡ ጊዜ፡ ቀትር፡ ከመ፡ ኢይኩ
ን፡ አንዘ፡ አንጌጊ፡ ውስተምርአ
የ፡ ከልአኒከ፡፡ አመ፡ ኢያአመርኪ፡
ርአሰኪ፡ ሠናይተ፡ አዎአንሰተ፡ ጊ
ኢ፡ አንቴ፡ ውሰተ፡ ሰኩናሆሙ፡ ለ
መረዔተ፡፡ ወሬአዪ፡ መሐስዓ፡ አማ
ሌኪ፡፡ ውስተ፡ አዕፃደቲሆሙ፡ ለ
ኖሎት፡፡ ለፈረስየ፡ ወለሰሬገለተ፡
ሬረዖን፡፡ አሰተማሰልኩኪ፡ አንተ፡
ንቤየ፡፡

Amhara

ይሀ፡ ከምሰጋና፡ ያሚበልጽ፡ ሞሰጋና፡
የሰሎሞን፡ ነው፡፡ ባፋ፡ አሳሳም፡ ይ
ሰመናል፡፡ ከወይን፡ ይልቅ፡ ጡቶች
ኩ፡ ይሰ፡ ይሳሱ፡፡ የሰቱሰሞ፡ ሰታ
ከሰቱ፡ ሁለ፡ ይሳሳል፡፡ በስሜ፡ የተ
ቀለቀለ፡ አምህ፡ አንይ፡ ለቱ፡ ያስወ
ድይናል፡፡ አለዜህ፡ ቆናደት፡ ወደዳ
ህ፡፡ ሁዋለከን፡ ተከተሌህ፡፡ በሸቴ
ሀ፡ ከታ፡ ሰንቄደሰን፡፡ ንጉሥ፡ ከጨ
ጉሳዉ፡ አገሳን፡፡ ባንች፡ ደአ፡ ይሰና
ለ፡፡ ጠቶተሰን፡ ኩወይን፡ ይልቅ፡ ከን
ወደስን፡፡ አንቶን፡ መወደድ፡ ቅን፡
ነገራ፡ ነዉ፡፡ ከየሩሳሌሞ፡ ቆናጅተ፡
ይለቅ፡ ጠቁረአሰሁ፡፡ ከንደ፡ ዘባን፡
ሳጀ፡ ከንደ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ድንኳን፡ ከሞ
ሬ፡ ነበረ፡፡ ጠቁራአሰሁና፡ አቅደኝ
ፀሐይ፡ ከሰየኝሞኖ፡፡ የኖቴ፡ ሌጀች፡
ሰለኔ፡ ተጸሉ፡፡ ሠይን፡ ጠብቂ፡ ብሎ፡
አኖሩኝ፡፡ የኔን፡ ወይን፡ አሌጠበቅሁ
መ፡፡ ሌቡኖዬ፡ የወደደችሆይ፡ ንገረኝ፡
ወዴተ፡ ተሰመራለህ፡፡ ወዴተ፡ ተተ
ኛለህ፡፡ በቀትር፡ ጊዜ፡፡ አቅበዘበዝ፡
አንደሌገኝ፡፡ ከባሌንጀሮችህ፡ መን
ጎች፡፡ ራሰሺን፡ ካሰወቅሺ፡፡ ከሴ
ቶች፡ የመታምረ፡፡ የመንጎችን፡
ሰኮና፡ ቀተለሽ፡ ዉጭ፡፡ የፈየሴ
ትሽን፡ ጥቦተ፡ ጠብቂ፡፡ በረኛች፡
ቦታ፡ ያሉን፡፡ ፈረሴኝ፡ የፈረዖን፡ ፈ
ረሰ፡፡ ሰራገላየን፡ የፈረዖን፡ ሰረ
ገላ፡፡

Falasha

የሰሎሜን፡ ባዝሊኪ፡ ባዝ፡ ቨራው፡ ኳራ፡ሐሌከይ፡፡ ደገና፡ ሑረ፡ደገሬ፡ከራ
ባዝ፡ ሂመኬዝ፡ ደሜሆኩ፡፡ ቨራ፡ ኪኝ ጎሑረዉ፡፡ ወደኝ፡ ሰብረሰ፡ ሜልታ፡፡
ጐጐ፡ ወደኝ፡ ወቨወ፡ ኪጎራሰ፡ ሂራ፡ ስቤና፡፡ ደክሞሰ፡ ወደኝ፡ ሰብረሰ፡
ናሊኪ፡ ጌረ፡ ቨራ፡ ኪቪዉሊዝ፡ ጎራ፡ ሜለትግረ፡፡ ደት፡ ደካለደቲ፡ ዶዊ፡፡
ተደባለቃ፡፡ እንዚ፡ ደቁኝ፡ ደከልኖ፡ አጉተ፡ ሰካብሰያ፡፡ አጉተ፡ ጋንጅግኝ፡
እንገሷ፡ ወተረኝዉ፡፡ ኪጎሬዝ፡ ጎራ፡ ሐሰሐሰ፡ ጊዘዝ፡፡ ለግጊና፡ ወንተ፡ ተረ
ጌሳኖ፡፡ ለቨኔ፡ ሂንግሊ፡ ፈገው፡፡ወደኝ፡ ንጉ፡ ኪመጊዋ፡ ሊንያ፡፡ ኩያጊሰ፡ እሃ
ሊዉቨዉ፡ ኪንጉጉሰ፡ ደከሌኝዉ፡፡ ከረ፡፡ ደዊንሊኪ፡ እንት፡ ቨራረ፡፡ እኝ
ኪደከሌኒ፡ሌታ፡፡እኝ፡ቨመንቱ፡ቀኝኩ፡፡ ተፍ፡፡ ናልኩሰ፡ ሰኮብሰወሊ፡፡ ፍ
ለየረሐሌመ፡ ቨክንሊ፡ እኝ፡ ኪዘኩ፡፡ ኒቲሪ፡ ተቦተሰ፡ ሜለቲ፡፡ ሌተኝ
ዘለኝ፡ ጉጅ፡ ኪና፡፡ ሶሎሞኒዉ፡ ድኝ ለ፡ ናሲሪዋ፡ ደፍረዘዝ፡ ፈናዖኒ፡
ኳን፡ ክና፡፡ ሰመንቱ፡ እነኩ፡ ሐሌታ፡፡ ሰረጋለኝ

Damot Agow

ማዜነ፡ ህዮ፡ ማዜነ፡ የሰሎፐን፡ አኝ፡፡
ምጀ፡ አማቀ፡ ከወይን፡ ኔኵ፡ ኤቁሽ፡ አ
ምጥኙ፡፡ ሀናሽ፡ ሀሩ፡ ከሀና፡ ኛቅ፡ አ
ምተኑ፡፡ ይሹኝ፡ ሐብሩ፡ ክሹኝ፡
ሀሬካኛ፡ አቀንሶኵ፡ ኝማተን፡ ምቁ፡
አቅኑ፡፡ ክጊሬ፡ ቲክኑ፡፡ ኮሀሬ፡ ሀረ፡
ፋረነኵን፡፡ ንጉሠ፡ ፀወለ፡ ድቀ፡፡
ክጀቃ፡ አምተመኵን፡ አቁጠን፡ ከወ
ይን፡ ህየኩ፡ አቀነኩን፡፡ ክተ፡ ቀነኵን፡
ጭቄቁ፡ ገብ፡ አኝ፡፡ ከየሩሰሊም፡
ምቁ፡ ህየኵ፡ ኝጭሩን፡፡ ምቃ፡
ጉጀኛ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ድኰንኛ፡፡ ግረ
ም፡ ጽቡን፡፡ ንጭሩኵን፡ አለታ፡
ኮረ፡ አልይ፡፡ ይጅሰ፡ ሁረ፡ ይማጥኝ፡
ቃረሹ፡፡ ወደን፡ ምቃ፡ ይሩ፡ ሰቁሩ፡፡
ዩዉ፡ ወይን፡ ልሚትቀረ፡፡ አዘን፡
አቅንደዱን፡ ድቁ፡፡ አወራ፡ ፈተሬን፡
አወራ፡ ግዝሬን፡ ሰት፡ ጊዝ፡፡ አሸ
ኘሳ፡ ሐወክሰኵ፡ ኮፀምፐ፡ ሜንጋ፡፡
ከውረ፡ አረቅየረ፡፡ አቁን፡ ጊረም
ሬ፡፡ የመንሳኙሺን፡ ሰወን፡ ቲክን፡
ድፋ፡፡ ፋጭረ፡ ተቦተ፡ ሉሚጭ፡
ምቃ፡ ቡታ፡ እኵ፡፡ ደፋረዛ፡ የፈረዐን፡
ፋረዛ፡፡ አመዱረቃ፡ የፋሩዐን፡ አሞዱረቀ፡

Tcheratz Agow

አን፡ ሞሰጋን፡ ጸሰጊ፡ ኽሰዉ፡ ሞሰጋኒ፡ ንቲደን፡፡ ንዊ፡ ካንቲይ፡፡ ይቹ፡ ደረ፡ የሰሎሞን፡ ኚ፡፡ ኽሞቢ፡ ኩሰሮዉ፡ ይባና፡ ጀፋሮን፡፡ ወደን፡ ማንደንኩ፡ ኩሰኚ፡፡ ከወደን፡ ኽሰ፡ ለን፡ ደሳን፡ ንካማ፡ ለንኩራኒ፡፡ የዉሰ፡ ወደን፡ ኩኒረኒ፡ ኒረ፡ ከኒረዉ፡ ዉለ፡ ከሸ ማንተየ፡፡ ደሸዋ፡ ለንካንተውሳ፡ ድ ኩ፡፡ ደዉሰኟሰ፡ ለለቀጽትዊ፡፡ ኩ ኩ፡፡ ዉሸዋ፡ ዛንግርቲ፡፡ ዉሸዋ፡ ሰሞሰ፡ ጎረታ፡ ለንካንሰ፡፡ ለንስታ፡ ጸን ሁረ፡ ገርግ፡ ሸሸ፡፡ ለገበተረ፡ ለግሰታ፡ ካካ፡ ለካንኩ፡፡ ለንግርዋ፡ ታንከኑን፡፡ ቲተ፡ ደሰብኪ፡ ሞረተሑ፡፡ ኟረይ፡ ተ ሳረደ፡ ሳረ፡ ካን፡፡ ንጉሠኒ፡ ቻጉሊደ፡ ከሰ፡፡ ኚኸና፡ ለመናተ፡፡ ሞረትሲ፡ ሚጽኸ፡፡ ከደ፡ ደሰዋ፡፡ ለንጉዋ፡ ከወ ሳጉና፡ ተክንተታረ፡፡ ፋባይቲ፡ ሳ ይን፡ ደለንካን፡፡ ኩዋ፡ ለንከንኟ፡ ግግረ፡ ዉንኩ፡ መንቲ፡፡ ለበለሞ፡ ሰፋረደ፡ ድቢ፡ ኚ፡፡ ከየረሳሌሞ፡ ለንካካ፡ ኽሰ፡ ዝኩንኩሳ፡፡ ፈረሰይ፡ የፈረዖን፡ ፈ ሠርክታ፡፡ ዚለኒተ፡ ጉጅ፡ ሰሎሞንታ፡ ረሳሳ፡ ሱገሊያ፡ የፈረዖን፡ ሰረገሊ ድንጉንታ፡ ለመረዝ፡ ሰኑጎ፡ ሠርክታ፡ ካ ያ፡፡

Gafat

ይህ፡ የሰሎሞን፡ አጀዋት፡ አጄ፡ አ
ጂ፡ በሰሞት፡ አጂ፡ አፃፃሞ፡ አፃፃመ
ኝ፡፡ ሞይት፡ አትላቱ፡ ጥቦጂ፡
አዝነጂ፡ ጉነ፡፡ አንፋጂሰ፡ አንፍ፡
አለሙ፡ ይጋጅ፡፡ ሰሙየትጂ፡ ደበሉ፡
ሰሞውትህ፡ አንደ፡ ገነ፡ አጽሞኸ፡፡
የውታቶ፡ ዘያትጅ፡ ወድሂ፡፡ መልፍና
ሕን፡ ቀጠለመ፡፡ በንፋጂ፡ አንሩወ፡
አንታሁና፡፡ ንጉሠ፡ አትጌባኝ፡ በጨ
ጕልሸ፡፡ በይት፡ ደሰ፡ ይብል፡፡ ጥቡጂ፡
ሞይነ፡ ይጋጂ፡ አንወዴ፡፡ ይት፡ ወዮደ፡
ጉነ፡ ጸወተ፡ ይቀኒ፡፡ ከየረሰለመ፡ መዛ
የኝ፡ ጹተላቱ፡ አገላጀሁ፡፡ አንደ፡ አ
ቦላሞ፡ ድካመጂ፡ አንደ፡ ሰሎሞን፡
መድንኳኒ፡=፡ ጉነ፡ ጋጀሁማ፡ ደጀ፡፡
አገጸኘሁሞ፡ አትጂኝ፡፡ ጨበረት፡ አ
ላጀኝሙ፡፡ አሙየት፡ ቡሸኝ፡ ያኔት፡
ይብሉ፡ ይትጻሌም፡፡ ሞይነሸ፡ አቃቡ፡
ብል፡ አትወን፡፡ ያነትን፡ ወይነ፡ አላ
ቀብሁም፡፡ ልፅጄ፡ ያቀለሰን፡ ይውዴ፡፡
ይፋነ፡ ተዘነገር፡ ይፋንትትገዳል፡ ቀንሸ
ኩየ፡፡ ይትታወክ፡ ማልሆኒ፡ ማለኝ
ጄ፡ መንገ፡፡ ድማሐሸ፡ ያትሸሊ፡ አ
ንተኝ፡ ጉነ፡ ተሸሊ፡፡ የጉናኝን፡ መ
ሰኵኒ፡ ቀጥይ፡ ንደይ፡፡ የናየሎኝሸን፡
ጥቦት፡ አቅቢ፡፡ ባቦ፡ ላመሸ፡ ቦቲ፡ አቅ
ቢ፡፡ ፋናያሺን፡ የፋናዖን፡ ፋናድሸ፡
ባልሺን፡ የፋናዖን፡ ባልሸ

Galla

ኩኖ፡ ገላተ፡ አረጁረ፡ ገለተ፡ የሰሎ
ን፡ ይሰ፡፡ አፋኒ፡ ይሳቲ፡ አነድ፡ አንጮ
ቲ፡፡ ወይን፡ አረጁረ፡ ሐናሚኬ፡ ገመ
ቱ፡፡ ዉናጋንኬ፡ ዉናጋ፡ ዉናጋ፡ ዱዳ፡
አረጀረ፡፡ መቃኮቲ፡ ደበሌ፡ መቃኬ፡
አከ፡ ውናጋዋ፡ አነጀላችሳ፡፡ ከናረ፡
ዱበረ፡ ሲጀለቲኒ፡፡ ዱበኬ፡ ሲዱከአዴ
ሎ፡ ውናጋኬቲ፡ ውረጋ፡ አደሎና፡፡ ሎ
ቲ፡ ደንቃ፡ አናሴንሲሴ፡፡ ሲቲ፡ ገመ
ዶና፡፡ ሐረሚኬ፡ ከወይን፡ አረጀረ፡
ጀለና፡፡ ሲሐ፡ ጀለሳ፡ ቀጀለ፡ ዱቢ፡
ይሰ፡፡ ከየረሰሌሎ፡ ዱበረ፡ ይሬ፡ ዴተ
ያጅራ፡፡ አከ፡ ቲክሲቱ፡ ቲሶ፡ ከሰሎ
ሎን፡ ደንኳን፡ ሚደጌ፡ ቱሬ፡፡ ዳታይ
ጅሬ፡ አነኒለላ፡፡ ኢይ፡ አነኒላሌ፡ ጎደ
ኮ፡ ኒጀሌ፡ አንለቀጀያኒ፡ ወሎለኒ፡፡ ወ
ይን፡ ይግይ፡ አነጅረለችሰኒ፡፡ ውይንኮ፡
ሂኒግኒ፡፡ ቀልቢኮ፡ ከንጀለቲ፡ አነቲሂ
ሚ፡ ኤሳ፡ አዴሎፈቴ፡፡ ኤሰ፡ ቲጪ
ፍቲ፡ ሳፈወቲ፡ ዔና፡ ዌራሩስ፡ ከኢኒ
ተሂ፡፡ ኚረያንኬ፡ ኚዴ፡፡ ኮተንኬ፡
ቤኩባቴ፡ ኒድኢዋን፡ ከሎበሬዴ፡፡ ኒደነ
በኬ፡ ኮቴ፡ ደካዴንቴ፡ በጉ፡፡ ረዖተኬ፡
ጭቦት፡ ኤጊ፡፡ አግዴዋን፡ ኢረጌ፡ ከ
ንጀረን፡፡ ፊረደኮ፡ የፊረዖን፡ ፊረደ፡ ሰረ
ግለየን፡ የፊረዖን፡ ሰረገለ፡፡

of the Cuſhite ſhepherd by whom they were firſt invented and uſed, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. I may add in further proof of their origin, that the curſe * of Canaan ſeems to have followed them, they have obtained no principality, but ſerved the kings of the Agaazi or Shepherds, have been hewers of wood and drawers of water, and ſo they ſtill continue.

The firſt and moſt conſiderable of theſe nations ſettled in a province called *Amhara*; it was, at firſt coming, as little known as the others; but, upon a revolution in the country, the king fled to that province, and there the court ſtaid many years, ſo that the Geez, or language of the Shepherds, was dropt, and retained only in writing, and as a dead language; the ſacred ſcriptures being in that language only, ſaved the Geez from going totally into diſuſe. The ſecond were the Agows of Damot, one of the ſouthern provinces of Abyſſinia, where they are ſettled immediately upon the ſources of the Nile. The third are the Agows of Laſta, or Tcheratz Agow, from Tchera, their principal habitation; theirs too is a ſeparate language; they are Troglodytes that live in caverns, and ſeem to pay nearly the ſame worſhip to the Siris, or Tacazzè, that thoſe of Damot pay to the Nile.

I take the old names of theſe two laſt-mentioned nations, to be ſunk in the circumſtances of this their new ſettlement, and to be a compound of two words Ag-oha, the Shepherds of the River, and I alſo imagine, that the idolatry they

* Gen. ix. 25, 26, and 27. verſes.

they introduced in the worſhip of the Nile, is a further proof that they came from Canaan, where they imbibed materialiſm in place of the pure Sabean worſhip of the Shepherds, then the only religion of this part of Africa.

The fourth is a nation bordering upon the ſouthern banks of the Nile near Damot. It calls itſelf Gafat, which ſignifies oppreſſed by violence, torn, expelled, or chaced away by force. If we were to follow the idea ariſing merely from this name, we might be led to imagine, that theſe were part of the tribes torn from Solomon's ſon and ſucceſſor, Rehoboam. This, however, we cannot do conſiſtent with the faith to be kept by a hiſtorian with his reader. The evidence of the people themſelves, and the tradition of the country, deny they ever were Jews, or ever concerned with that colony, brought with Menilek and the queen of Saba, which eſtabliſhed the Jewiſh hierarchy. They declare, that they are now Pagans, and ever were ſo; that they are partakers with their neighbours the Agows in the worſhip of the river Nile, the extent or particulars of which I cannot pretend to explain.—The fifth is a tribe, which, if we were to pay any attention to ſimilarity of names, we ſhould be apt to imagine we had found here in Africa a part of that great Gauliſh nation ſo widely extended in Europe and Aſia. A compariſon of their languages, with what we know exiſts of the former, cannot but be very curious.—Theſe are the Galla, the moſt conſiderable of theſe nations, ſpecimens of whoſe language I have cited. This word, in their own language, ſignifies *Shepherd**; they ſay that formerly

* Theſe people likewiſe call themſelves Agaazi, or Agagi, they have over-run the kingdom of Congo ſouth of the Line, and on the Atlantic Ocean, as the Galla have done that part of the kingdom of Adel and Abyſſinia, on the Eaſtern, or Indian Ocean. Purch. lib. ii. chap. 4. Sect. 8.

merly they lived on the borders of the ſouthern rains, within the ſouthern tropic; and that, like theſe in Atbara, they were carriers between the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, and ſupplied the interior part of the peninſula with Indian commodities.

The hiſtory of this trade is unknown; it muſt have been little leſs ancient, and nearly as extenſive, as the trade to Egypt and Arabia. It probably ſuffered diminution, when the mines of Sofala were given up, ſoon after the diſcovery of the new world. The Portugueſe found it ſtill flouriſhing, when they made their firſt conqueſts upon that coaſt; and they carry it on ſtill in an obſcure manner, but in the ſame tract to their ſettlements near Cape Negro on the weſtern ocean. From theſe ſettlements would be the proper place to begin to explore the interior parts of the peninſula, on both ſides of the ſouthern tropic, as protection and aſſiſtance could probably be got through the whole courſe of it, and very little ſkill in language would be neceſſary.

When no employment was found for this multitude of men and cattle, they left their homes, and proceeding northward, they found themſelves involved near the Line, in rainy, cold, and cloudy weather, where they ſcarcely ever ſaw the ſun. Impatient of ſuch a climate, they advanced ſtill farther, till about the year 1537, they appeared in great numbers in the province of Bali, abandoning the care of camels for the breeding of horſes. At preſent they are all cavalry. I avoid to ſay more of them in this place, as I ſhall be obliged to make frequent mention of them in the courſe of my narrative.

The Falaſha, too, are a people of Abyſſinia, having a particular language of their own; a ſpecimen of which I have alſo publiſhed, as the hiſtory of the people ſeems to be curious. I do not, however, mean to ſay of them, more than of the Galla, that this was any part of thoſe nations who fled from Paleſtine on the *invaſion* of Joſhua. For they are now, and ever were, Jews, and have traditions of their own as to their origin, and what reduced them to the preſent ſtate of ſeparation, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, when I come to ſpeak of the tranſlation of the holy ſcripture.

In order to gratify ſuch as are curious in the ſtudy and hiſtory of language, I, with great pains and difficulty, got the whole book of the Canticles tranſlated into each of theſe languages, by prieſts eſteemed the moſt verſant in the language of each nation. As this barbarous polyglot is of too large a ſize to print, I have contented myſelf with copying ſix verſes of the firſt chapter in each language; but the whole book is at the ſervice of any perſon of learning that will beſtow his time in ſtudying it, and, for this purpoſe, I left it in the Britiſh Muſeum, under the direction of Sir Joſeph Banks, and the Biſhop of Carliſle.

These *Convenæ*, as we have obſerved, were called *Habeſh*, a number of diſtinct nations meeting in one place. Scripture has given them a name, which, though it has been ill-tranſlated, is preciſely *Convenæ*, both in the Ethiopic and Hebrew. Our Engliſh tranſlation calls them the *mingled people* *, whereas it ſhould be the *ſeparate nations*, who, though met and ſettled together, did not mingle, which is ſtrictly *Convenæ*.

The

* Jerem. chap. xiii. ver. 23.—id. xxv. 24.—Ezek. chap. xxx. ver. 5.

The inhabitants then who poſſeſſed Abyſſinia, from its ſouthern boundary to the tropic of Cancer, or frontiers of Egypt, were the Cuſhites, or poliſhed people, living in towns, firſt Troglodytes, having their habitations in caves. The next were the Shepherds; after theſe were the nations who, as we apprehend, came from Paleſtine---Amhara, Agow of Damot, Agow of Tchera, and Gafat.

INTERPRETERS, much leſs acquainted with the hiſtorical circumſtances of theſe countries than the prophets, have, either from ignorance or inattention, occaſioned an obſcurity which otherwiſe did not ariſe from the text. All theſe people are alluded to in ſcripture by deſcriptions that cannot be miſtaken. If they have occaſioned doubts or difficulties, they are all to be laid at the door of the tranſlators; chiefly the Septuagint. When Moſes returned with his wife Zipporah, daughter of the ſovereign of the Shepherds of Midian, carriers of the India trade from Saba into Paleſtine, and eſtabliſhed near their principal mart Edom, in Idumea or Arabia, Aaron, and Miriam his ſiſter, quarrelled with Moſes, becauſe he had married one who was, as the tranſlator ſays, an Ethiopian*. There is no ſenſe in this cauſe; Moſes was a fugitive when he married Zipporah; ſhe was a noble-woman, daughter of the prieſt of Midian, head of a people. She likewiſe, as it would ſeem, was a Jeweſs †, and more attentive, at that time, to the preſervation of the precepts of the law, than Moſes was himſelf; no exception, then, could lie againſt Zipporah, as ſhe was ſurely, in every view, Moſes's ſuperior. But if the tranſlator had rendered it,

* Numb. chap. xii. ver. 1. † Exod. chap. iv. ver. 25.

it, that Aaron and Miriam had quarrelled with Moſes, becauſe he had married a *negro*, or *black-moor*, the reproach was evident; whatever intrinſic merit Zipporah might have been found to have poſſeſſed afterwards, ſhe muſt have appeared before the people, at firſt ſight, as a *ſtrange* woman, or Gentile, whom it was prohibited tomarry. Beſides, the innate deformity of the complexion, negroes were, at all times, rather coveted for companions of men of luxury or pleaſure, than ſought after for wives of ſober legiſlators, and governors of a people.

THE next inſtance I ſhall give is, Zerah of Gerar *, who came out to fight Aſa king of Iſrael with an army of a million of men, and three hundred chariots, whilſt both the quarrel and the deciſion are repreſented as immediate.

GERAR was a ſmall diſtrict, producing only the Acacia or gum-arabic trees, from which it had its name; it had no water but what came from a few wells, part of which had been dug by Abraham †, after much ſtrife with the people of the country, who ſought to deprive him of them, as of a treaſure.

ABRAHAM and his brother Lot returning from Egypt, though poor ſhepherds, could not ſubſiſt there for want of food, and water, and they ſeparated accordingly, by conſent ‡. Now

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* 2 Chron. chap. xiv. ver. 9. † Gen chap. 21. ver. 30.
‡ Gen. chap. 13. ver. 6. and 9.

Now it muſt be confeſſed, as it is not pretended there was any miracle here, that there is not a more unlikely tale in all Herodotus, than this muſt be allowed to be upon the footing of the tranſlation. The tranſlator calls Zerah an Ethiopian, which ſhould either mean he dwelt in Arabia, as he really did, and this gave him no advantage, or elſe that he was a ſtranger, who originally came from the country above Egypt; and, either way, it would have been impoſſible, during his whole life-time, to have collected a million of men, one of the greateſt armies that ever ſtood upon the face of the earth, nor could he have fed them though they had ate the whole trees that grew in his country, nor could he have given every hundredth man one drink of water in a day from all the wells he had in his country.

Here, then, is an obvious triumph for infidelity, becauſe, as I have ſaid, no ſupernatural means are pretended. But had it been tranſlated, that Zerah was a *black-moor*, a *Cuſhite-negro*, and prince of the Cuſhites, that were carriers in the iſthmus, an Ethiopian ſhepherd, then the wonder ceaſed. Twenty camels, employed to carry couriers upon them, might have procured that number of men to meet in a ſhort ſpace of time, and, as Zerah was the aggreſſor, he had time to chooſe when he ſhould attack his enemy; every one of theſe ſhepherds carrying with them their proviſion of flour and water, as is their invariable cuſtom, might have fought with Aſa at Gerar, without eating a loaf of Zerah's bread, or drinking a pint of his water.

The next paſſage I ſhall mention is the following: "The "labour of Egypt, and merchandiſe of Ethiopia, and of the

" Sabeans, men of ſtature, ſhall come over unto thee, and " they ſhall be thine*." Here the ſeveral nations are diſtinctly and ſeparately mentioned in their places, but the whole meaning of the paſſage would have been loſt, had not the ſituation of theſe nations been perfectly known; or, had not the Sabeans been mentioned ſeparately, for both the Sabeans and the Cuſhite were certainly Ethiopians. Now, the meaning of the verſe is, that the fruit of the agriculture of Egypt, which is wheat, the commodities of the negro, gold, ſilver, ivory, and perfumes, would be brought by the Sabean ſhepherds, their carriers, a nation of great power, which ſhould join themſelves with you.

Again, Ezekiel ſays,† " And they ſhall know that I am " the Lord, when I have ſet a fire in Egypt, and when all " her helpers ſhall be deſtroyed."—" In that day ſhall meſ- " ſengers go forth from me in ſhips, to make the careleſs " Ethiopians afraid." Now, Nebuchadnezzar was to deſtroy Egypt‡, from the frontiers of Paleſtine, to the mountains above Atbara, where the Cuſhite dwelt. Between this and Egypt is a great deſert; the country beyond it, and on both ſides, was poſſeſſed by half a million of men. The Cuſhite, or negro merchant, was ſecure under theſe circumſtances from any inſult by land, but they were open to the ſea, and had no defender, and meſſengers, therefore, in ſhips or a fleet had eaſy acceſs to them, to alarm and keep them at home, that they did not fall into danger by marching into Egypt againſt Nebuchadnezzar, or interrupting the ſervice upon which God had ſent him. But this does not appear from tranſla-

* Iſa. chap. xlv. ver. 14. † Ezek. chap. xxx. ver. 8. and 9. ‡ Ezek. chap. xxix. ver. 10.

ting Cuſh, *Ethiopian;* the neareſt Ethiopian to Nebuchadnezzar, the moſt powerful and capable of oppoſing him, were the Ethiopian ſhepherds of the Thebaid, and theſe were not acceſſible to ſhips; and the ſhepherds, ſo poſted near to the ſcene of deſtruction to be committed by Nebuchadnezzar, were enemies to the Cuſhites living in towns, and they had repeatedly themſelves deſtroyed them, and therefore had no temptation to be other than ſpectators.

In ſeveral other places, the ſame prophet ſpeaks of Cuſh as the commercial nation, ſympathiſing with their countrymen dwelling in the towns in Egypt, independent of the ſhepherds, who were really their enemies, both in civil and religious matters. "And the ſword ſhall come upon Egypt, "and great pain ſhall be in Ethiopia, when the ſlain ſhall "fall in Egypt*." Now Ethiopia, as I have before ſaid, that is, the low country of the ſhepherds, neareſt Egypt, had no common cauſe with the Cuſhites that lived in towns there; it was their countrymen, the Cuſhites in Ethiopia, who mourned for thoſe that fell in Egypt, who were merchants, traders, and dwelt in cities like themſelves.

I shall mention but one inſtance more: "Can the Ethi-"opian change his ſkin, or the leopard his ſpots?†" Here Cuſh is rendered Ethiopian, and many Ethiopians being white, it does not appear why they ſhould be fixed upon, or choſen for the queſtion more than other people. But had Cuſh been tranſlated Negro, or Black-moor, the queſtion

* Ezek. chap. xxx. ver. 4. † Jerem. chap. xiii. ver. 23.

would have been very eaſily underſtood, Can the negro change his ſkin, or the leopard his ſpots?

JEREMIAH * ſpeaks of the chiefs of the mingled people that dwell in the deſerts. And Ezekiel† alſo mentions them independent of all the others, whether Shepherds, or Cuſhites, or Libyans their neighbours, by the name of the Mingled People. Iſaiah ‡ calls them "a nation ſcattered "and peeled; a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; "a nation meted out and trodden down, whoſe land the ri-"vers have ſpoiled:" which is a ſufficient deſcription of them, as having been expelled their own country, and ſettled in one that had ſuffered greatly by a deluge a ſhort time before.

* Jerem. chap. xxv. ver. 24. † Ezek. chap. xxx. ver. 5. ‡ Iſa. chap. xviii. ver. 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Origin of Characters or Letters—Ethiopic the firſt Language—How and why the Hebrew Letter was formed.

THE reader will obſerve what I have already ſaid concerning the language of Habeſh, or the Mingled Nations, that they have not characters of their own; but when written, which is very ſeldom, it muſt be by uſing the Geez alphabet. Kircher, however, ſays, there are two characters to be found in Abyſſinia; one he calls the Sacred Old Syrian, the other the Vulgar, or Common Geez character, of which we are now ſpeaking. But this is certainly a miſtake; there never was, that I know, but two original characters which obtained in Egypt. The firſt was the Geez, the ſecond the Saitic, and both theſe were the oldeſt characters in the world, and both derived from hieroglyphics.

ALTHOUGH it is impoſſible to avoid ſaying ſomething here of the origin of languages, the reader muſt not expect that I ſhould go very deep into the faſhionable opinions concerning them, or believe that all the old deities of the

Pagan nations were the patriarchs of the Old Teſtament. With all reſpect to Sanchoniatho and his followers, I can no more believe that Oſiris, the firſt king of Egypt, was a real perſonage, and that Tot was his ſecretary, than I can believe Saturn to be the patriarch Abraham, and Rachel and Leah, Venus and Minerva. I will not fatigue the reader with a detail of uſeleſs reaſons; if Oſiris is a real perſonage, if he was king of Egypt, and Tot his ſecretary, they ſurely travelled to very good purpoſe, as all the people of Europe and Aſia ſeem to be agreed, that in perſon they firſt communicated letters and the art of writing to them, but at very different, and very diſtant periods.

Thebes was built by a colony of Ethiopians from Sirè, the city of Seir, or the Dog Star. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Greeks, by putting O before Siris, had made the word unintelligible to the Egyptians: Siris, then, was Oſiris; but he was not the Sun, no more than he was Abraham, nor was he a real perſonage. He was Syrius, or the dog-ſtar, deſigned under the figure of a dog, becauſe of the warning he gave to Atbara, where the firſt obſervations were made at his heliacal riſing, or his diſengaging himſelf from the rays of the ſun, ſo as to be viſible to the naked eye. He was the Latrator Anubis, and his firſt appearance was figuratively compared to the barking of a dog, by the warning it gave to prepare for the approaching inundation. I believe, therefore, this was the firſt hieroglyphic; and that Iſis, Oſiris, and Tot, were all after inventions relating to it; and, in ſaying this, I am ſo far warranted, becauſe there is not in Axum (once a large city) any other hieroglyphic but of the dog-ſtar, as far as I can judge from the huge fragments of figures of this animal, remains of which, in different

rent poſtures, are ſtill diſtinctly to be ſeen upon the pedeſtals everywhere among the ruins.

It is not to be doubted, that hieroglyphics then, but not aſtronomy, were invented at Thebes, where the theory of the dog-ſtar was particularly inveſtigated, becauſe connected with their rural year. Ptolemy* has preſerved us an obſervation of an helaical riſing of Sirius on the 4th day after the ſummer ſolſtice, which anſwers to the 2250 year before Chriſt; and there are great reaſons to believe the Thebans were good practical aſtronomers long before that period†; early, as it may be thought, this gives to Thebes a much greater antiquity than does the chronicle of Axum juſt cited.

As ſuch obſervations were to be of ſervice for ever, they became more valuable and uſeful in proportion to their priority. The moſt ancient of them would be of uſe to the aſtronomers of this day, for Sir Iſaac Newton appeals to theſe of Chiron the Centaur. Equations may indeed be diſcovered in a number of centuries, which, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of their quantities, may very probably have eſcaped the moſt attentive and ſcrupulous care of two or three generations; and many alterations in the ſtarry firmament, old ſtars being nearly extinguiſhed, and new emerging, would appear from a comparative ſtate of the

* Uranologion. P. Petau.

† Banbridge, Ann. canicul.

heavens made for a ſeries of ages. And a Theban *Herſchel** would have given us the hiſtory of planets he then obſerved, which, after appearing for ages, are now viſible no more, or have taken a different form.

The dial, or gold circle of Oſimandyas, ſhews what an immenſe progreſs they had made in aſtronomy in ſo little time. This, too, is a proof of an early fall and revival of the arts in Egypt, for the knowledge and uſe of Armillæ had been loſt with the deſtruction of Thebes, and were not again diſcovered, that is, revived, till the reign of Ptolemy Soter, 300 years before the Chriſtian æra. I conſider that immenſe quantity of hieroglyphics, with which the walls of the temples, and faces of the obeliſks, are covered, as containing ſo many aſtronomical obſervations.

I look upon theſe as the ephemerides of ſome thouſand years, and that ſufficiently accounts for their number. Their date and accuracy were indiſputable; they were exhibited in the moſt public places, to be conſulted as occaſion required; and, by the deepneſs of the engraving, and hardneſs of the materials, and the thickneſs and ſolidity of the block itſelf upon which they were carved, they bade defiance at once to violence and time.

I know that moſt of the learned writers are of ſentiments very different from mine in theſe reſpects. They look for

* An aſtronomer greatly above my praiſe.

myſteries and hidden meanings, moral and philoſophical treatiſes, as the ſubjects of theſe hieroglyphics. A ſceptre, they ſay, is the hieroglyphic of a king. But where do we meet a ſceptre upon an antique Egyptian monument? or who told us this was an emblem of royalty among the Egyptians at the time of the firſt invention of this figurative writing? Again, the ſerpent with the tail in its mouth denotes the eternity of God, that he is without beginning and without end. This is a Chriſtian truth, and a Chriſtian belief, but no where to be found in the polytheiſm of the inventors of hieroglyphics. Was Cronos or Ouranus without beginning and without end? Was this the caſe with Oſiris and Tot, whoſe fathers and mothers births and marriages are known? If this was a truth, independent of revelation, and imprinted from the beginning in the minds of men; if it was deſtined to be an eternal truth, which muſt have appeared by every man finding it in his own breaſt, from the beginning, how unneceſſary muſt the trouble have been to write a common known truth like this, at the expence of ſix weeks labour, upon a table of porphyry or granite.

It is not with philoſophy as with aſtronomy; the older the obſervations, the more uſe they are of to poſterity. A lecture of an Egyptian prieſt upon divinity, morality, or natural hiſtory, would not pay the trouble, at this day, of engraving it upon ſtone; and one of the reaſons that I think no ſuch ſubjects were ever treated in hieroglyphics is, that in all thoſe I ever had an opportunity of ſeeing, and very few people have ſeen more, I have conſtantly found the ſame figures repeated, which obviouſly, and without diſpute, allude to the hiſtory of the Nile, and its different periods of increaſe; the mode of meaſuring it, the Etefian winds; in ſhort, ſuch

obſervations as we every day ſee in an almanack, in which we cannot ſuppoſe, that forſaking the obvious import, where the good they did was evident, they ſhould aſcribe different meanings to the hieroglyphic, to which no key has been left, and therefore their future inutility muſt have been foreſeen.

I SHALL content myſelf in this wide field, to fix upon one famous hieroglyphical perſonage, which is *Tot*, the ſecretary of Oſiris, whoſe function I ſhall endeavour to explain; if I fail, I am in good company; I give it only as my opinion, and ſubmit it chearfully to the correction of others. The word *Tot* is Ethiopic, and there can be little doubt it means the dog-ſtar. It was the name given to the firſt month of the Egyptian year. The meaning of the name, in the language of the province of Siré, is an *idol*, compoſed of different heterogeneous pieces; it is found having this ſignification in many of their books. Thus a naked man is not a *Tot*, but the body of a naked man, with a dog's head, an aſs's head, or a ſerpent inſtead of a head, is a *Tot*. According to the import of that word, it is, I ſuppoſe, an almanack, or ſection of the phænomena in the heavens which are to happen in the limited time it is made to comprehend, when expoſed for the information of the public; and the more extenſive its uſe is intended to be, the greater number of emblems, or ſigns of obſervation, it is charged with.

BESIDES many other emblems or figures, the common Tot, I think, has in his hand a croſs with a handle, as it is called *Crux Anſata*, which has occaſioned great ſpeculation among the decypherers. This croſs, fixed to a circle, is ſuppoſed to denote the *four elements*, and to be the ſymbol of the

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influence the ſun has over them. Jamblichus * records, that this croſs, in the hand of Tot, is the name of the *divine Being* that travels through the world. Sozomen † thinks it means the *life* to come, the ſame with the ineffable image of eternity, Others, ſtrange difference! ſay it is the *phallus*, or human genitals, while a later ‡ writer maintains it to be the mariner's compaſs. My opinion, on the contrary is, that, as this figure was expoſed to the public for the reaſon I have mentioned, the Crux Anſata in his hand was nothing elſe but a monogram of his own name TO, and $\overset{O}{T}T$ ſignifying TOT, or as we write Almanack upon a collection publiſhed for the ſame purpoſe.

The changing of theſe emblems, and the multitude of them, produced the neceſſity of contracting their ſize, and this again a conſequential alteration in the original forms; and a ſtile, or ſmall portable inſtrument, became all that was neceſſary for finiſhing theſe ſmall *Tots*, inſtead of a large graver or carving tool, employed in making the large ones. But men, at laſt, were ſo much uſed to the alteration, as to know it better than under its primitive form, and the engraving became what we may call the firſt elements, or root, in preference to the original.

The reader will ſee, that, in my hiſtory of the civil wars in Abyſſinia, the king, forced by rebellion to retire to the province of Tigré, and being at Axum, found a ſtone covered with hieroglyphics, which, by the many inquiries I made

* Jamblich. de Myſt. ſect. 8. cap. 5. † Sozomen, Eccles. Hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 15.
‡ Herw. theolog. Ethnica, p. 11.

after inſcriptions, and ſome converſations I had had with him, he gueſſed was of the kind which I wanted. Full of that princely goodneſs and condeſcenſion that he ever honoured me with, throughout my whole ſtay, he brought it with him when he returned from Tigré, and was reſtored to his throne at Gondar.

It ſeems to me to be one of thoſe private Tots, or portable almanacks, of the moſt curious kind. The length of the whole ſtone is fourteen inches, and ſix inches broad, upon a baſe three inches high, projecting from the block itſelf, and covered with hieroglyphics. A naked figure of a man, near ſix inches, ſtands upon two crocodiles, their heads turned different ways. In each of his hands he holds two ſerpents, and a ſcorpion, all by the tail, and in the right hand hangs a nooſe, in which is ſuſpended a ram or goat. On the left hand he holds a lion by the tail. The figure is in great relief; and the head of it with that kind of cap or ornament which is generally painted upon the head of the figure called Iſis, but this figure is that of a man. On each ſide of the whole-length figure, and above it, upon the face of the ſtone where it projects, are marked a number of hieroglyphics of all kinds. Over this is a very remarkable repreſentation; it is an old head, with very ſtrong features, and a large buſhy beard, and upon it a high cap ribbed or ſtriped. This I take to be the Cnuph, or Animus Mundi, though Apuleus, with very little probability, ſays this was made in the likeneſs of no creature whatever. The back of the ſtone is divided into eight compartments*, from the top.

* I apprehend this is owing to the circumſtances of the climate, in the four months, the time of the inundation, the heavens were ſo covered as to afford no obſervations to be recorded.

N.o 2

A TABLE OF *HIEROGLYPHICS*, FOUND AT AXUM 1771.

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top to the bottom, and theſe are filled with hieroglyphics in the laſt ſtage, before they took the entire reſemblance of letters. Many are perfectly formed; the Crux Anſata appears in one of the compartments, and Tot in another. Upon the edge, juſt above where it is broken, is 1119, ſo fair and perfect in form, that it might ſerve as an example of caligraphy, even in the preſent times; 45 and 19, and ſome other arithmetical figures, are found up and down among the hieroglyphics.

This I ſuppoſe was what formerly the Egyptians called a book, or almanack; a collection of theſe was probably hung up in ſome conſpicuous place, to inform the public of the ſtate of the heavens, and ſeaſons, and diſeaſes, to be expected in the courſe of them, as is the caſe in the Engliſh almanacks at this day. Hermes is ſaid to have compoſed 36,535 books, probably of this ſort, or they might contain the correſpondent aſtronomical obſervations made in a certain time at Meroë, Ophir, Axum, or Thebes, communicated to be hung up for the uſe of the neighbouring cities. Porphyry * gives a particular account of the Egyptian almanacks. "What is compriſed in the Egyptian almanacks, ſays he, contains but a ſmall part of the Hermaic inſtitutions; all that relates to the riſing and ſetting of the moon and planets, and of the ſtars and their influence, and alſo ſome advice upon diſeaſes."

It is very remarkable, that, beſides my Tot here deſcribed, there are five or ſix, preciſely the ſame in all reſpects, already

* Porpyhry Epiſt. ad Anebonem.

ready in the Britiſh Muſeum; one of them, the largeſt of the whole, is made of ſycamore, the others are of metal. There is another, I am told, in Lord Shelburn's collection; this I never had an opportunity of ſeeing; but a very principal attention ſeems to have been paid to make all of them light and portable, and it would ſeem that by theſe having been formed ſo exactly ſimilar, they were the Tots intended to be expoſed in different cities or places, and were neither more nor leſs than Egyptian almanacks.

Whether letters were known to Noah before the flood, is no where ſaid from any authority, and the inquiry into it is therefore uſeleſs. It is difficult, in my opinion, to imagine, that any ſociety, engaged in different occupations, could ſubſiſt long without them. There ſeems to be leſs doubt, that they were invented, ſoon after the diſperſion, long before Moſes, and in common uſe among the Gentiles of his time.

It ſeems alſo probable, that the firſt alphabet was Ethiopic, firſt founded on hieroglyphics, and afterwards modelled into more current, and leſs laborious figures, for the ſake of applying them to the expedition of buſineſs. Mr Fourmont is ſo much of this opinion, that he ſays it is evident the three firſt letters of the Ethiopic alphabet are hieroglyphics yet, and that the Beta reſembles the door of a houſe or temple. But, with great ſubmiſſion, the doors of houſes and temples, when firſt built, were ſquare at the top, for arches were not known. The Beta was taken from the doors of the firſt Troglodytes in the mountains, which were rounded, and gave the hint for turning the arch, when architecture advanced nearer to perfection.

Others

Others are for giving to letters a divine original: they ſay they were taught to Abraham by God himſelf; but this is no where vouched; though it cannot be denied, that it appears from ſcripture there were two ſorts of characters known to Moſes, when God ſpoke to him on Mount Sinai. The firſt two tables, we are told, were wrote by the finger of God, in what character is not ſaid, but Moſes received them to read to the people, ſo he ſurely underſtood them. But, when he had broken theſe two tables, and had another meeting with God on the mount on the ſubject of the law, God directs him ſpecially not to write in the Egyptian character or hieroglyphics, but in the current hand uſed by the Ethiopian merchants, *like the letters* upon a ſignet; that is, he ſhould not write in hieroglyphics by a *picture*, repreſenting the *thing*, for that the law forbids; and the bad conſequences of this were evident; but he ſhould write the law in the current hand, by characters repreſenting ſounds, (though nothing elſe in heaven or on earth,) or by the letters that the Iſhmaelites, Cuſhites, and India trading nations had long uſed in buſineſs for ſigning their invoices, engagements, &c. and this was the meaning of being *like the letters of a ſignet.*

Hence, it is very clear, God did not invent letters, nor did Moſes, who underſtood both characters before the promulgation of the law upon Mount Sinai, having learned them in Egypt, and during his long ſtay among the Cuſhites, and Shepherds in Arabia Petrea. Hence it ſhould appear alſo, that the ſacred character of the Egyptian was conſidered as profane, and forbid to the Hebrews, and that the common Ethiopic was the Hebrew ſacred character, in which the copy of the law was firſt wrote. The text is very clear and explicit: "And the ſtones ſhall

"be

" be with the *names* of the children of Iſrael, twelve, " according to their *names*, *like* the engravings of a *ſignet;* every " one with his *name*, ſhall they be according to the twelve " tribes*." Which is plainly, You ſhall not write in the way uſed till this day, for it leads the people into idolatry; you ſhall not type Judah by a *lion*, Zebulun by a *ſhip*, Iſſachar by an *aſs* couching between two burdens; but, inſtead of writing by pictures, you ſhall take the other known hand, the merchants writing, which ſignifies *ſounds*, not *things;* write the names Judah, Zebulun, Iſſachar, in the letters, ſuch as the merchants uſe upon their ſignets. And, on Aaron's breaſt-plate of pure gold, was to be written, in the ſame alphabet, like the engravings of a ſignet, *HOLINESS TO THE LORD*†.

These ſignets, of the remoteſt antiquity in the Eaſt, are worn ſtill upon every man's hand to this day, having the name of the perſon that wears them, or ſome ſentence upon it always religious. The Greeks, after the Egyptians, continued the other method, and deſcribed figures upon their ſignet; the uſe of both has been always common in Britain.

We find afterwards, that, in place of ſtone or gold, for greater convenience Moſes wrote in a book, "And it came " to paſs, when Moſes had made an end of writing the " words of this law in a book, until they were finiſhed;‡"---

Although, then, Moſes certainly did not invent either, or any character, it is probable that he made two, perhaps more, alterations in the Ethiopic alphabet as it then ſtood, with

* Exod. chap. xxviii. ver. 21. † Exod. chap. xxviii. ver. 36. ‡ Deut. chap. xxxi. ver. 24.

with a view to increaſe the difference ſtill more between the writing then in uſe among the nations, and what he intended to be peculiar to the Jews. The firſt was altering the direction, and writing from right to left, whereas, the Ethiopian was, and is to this day, written from left to right, as was the hieroglyphical alphabet*. The ſecond was taking away the points, which, from all times, muſt have exiſted and been, as it were, a part of the Ethiopic letters invented with them, and I do not ſee how it is poſſible it ever could have been read without them; ſo that, which way ſoever the diſpute may turn concerning the antiquity of the application of the Maſoretic points, the invention was no new one, but did exiſt as early as language was written. And I apprehend, that theſe alterations were very rapidly adopted after the writing of the law, and applied to the new character as it then ſtood; becauſe, not long after, Moſes was ordered to ſubmit the law itſelf to the people, which would have been perfectly uſeleſs, had not reading and the character been familiar to them at that time.

It appears to me alſo, that the Ethiopic words were always ſeparated, and could not run together, or be joined as the Hebrew, and that the running the words together into one muſt have been matter of choice in the Hebrew, to increaſe the difference in writing the two languages, as the contrary had been practiſed in the Ethiopian language. Though there is really little reſemblance between the Ethiopic and the Hebrew letters, and not much more between that

* Vide the hieroglyphics on the drawing of the ſtone.

that and the Samaritan, yet I have a very great ſuſpicion the languages were once much nearer a-kin than this diſagreement of their alphabet promiſes, and, for this reaſon, that a very great number of words are found throughout the Old Teſtament that have really no root, nor can be derived from any Hebrew origin, and yet all have, in the Ethiopic, a plain, clear, unequivocal origin, to and from which they can be traced without force or difficulty.

I SHALL now finiſh what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, by obſerving, that the Ethiopic alphabet conſiſts of twenty-ſix letters, each of theſe, by a virgula, or point annexed, varying in ſound, ſo as to become, in effect, forty-two diſtinct letters. But I muſt further add, that at firſt they had but twenty-five of theſe original letters, the Latin P being wanting, ſo that they were obliged to ſubſtitute another letter in the place of it. Paulus, for example, they called Taulus, Oulus, or Caulus. Petros they pronounced Ketros. At laſt they ſubſtituted T, and added this to the end of their alphabet, giving it the force of P, though it was really a repetition of a character, rather than invention. Beſides theſe there are twenty others of the nature of dipthongs, but I ſhould ſuppoſe ſome of theſe are not of the ſame antiquity with the letters of the alphabet, but have been invented in later times by the ſcribes for convenience.

THE reader will underſtand, that, ſpeaking of the Ethiopic at preſent, I mean only the Geez language, the language of the Shepherds, and of the books. None of the other many languages ſpoken in Abyſſinia have characters for writing. But when the Amharic became ſubſtituted, in common uſe and converſation, to the Geez, after the reſtoration

ration of the Royal family, from their long baniſhment in Shoa, ſeven new characters were neceſſarily added to anſwer the pronunciation of this new language, but no book was ever yet written in any other language except Geez. On the contrary, there is an old law in this country, handed down by tradition only, that whoever ſhould attempt to tranſlate the holy ſcripture into Amharic, or any other language, his throat ſhould be cut after the manner in which they kill ſheep, his family ſold to ſlavery, and his houſe razed to the ground; and, whether the fear of this law was true or feigned, it was a great obſtacle to me in getting thoſe tranſlations of the Song of Solomon made which I intend for ſpecimens of the different languages of thoſe diſtinct nations.

The Geez is exceedingly harſh and unharmonious. It is full of theſe two letters, D and T, on which an accent is put that nearly reſembles ſtammering. Conſidering the ſmall extent of ſea that divides this country from Arabia, we are not to wonder that it has great affinity to the Arabic. It is not difficult to be acquired by thoſe who underſtand any other of the oriental languages; and, for a reaſon I have given ſome time ago, that the roots of many Hebrew words are only to be found here, I think it abſolutely neceſſary to all thoſe that would obtain a critical ſkill in that language.

Wemmers, a Carmelite, has wrote a ſmall Ethiopic dictionary in thin quarto, which, as far as it goes, has conſiderable merit; and I am told there are others of the ſame kind extant, written chiefly by Catholic prieſts. But by far the moſt copious, diſtinct, and beſt-digeſted work, is that of Job Ludolf,

dolf, a German of great learning in the Eaſtern languages, and who has publiſhed a grammar and dictionary of the Geez in folio. This read with attention is more than ſufficient to make any perſon of very moderate genius a great proficient in the Ethiopic language. He has likewiſe written a ſhort eſſay towards a dictionary and grammar of the Amharic, which, conſidering the very ſmall help he had, ſhews his ſurpriſing talents and capacity. Much, however, remains ſtill to do; and it is indeed ſcarcely poſſible to bring this to any tolerable degree of forwardneſs for want of books, unleſs a man of genius, while in the country itſelf, were to give his time and application to it: It is not much more difficult than the former, and leſs connected with the Hebrew or Arabic, but has a more harmonious pronunciation.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Some Account of the Trade Winds and Monſoons—Application of this to the Voyage to Ophir and Tarſhiſh.

IT is a matter of real affliction, which ſhews the vanity of all human attainments, that the preceding pages have been employed in deſcribing, and, as it were, drawing from oblivion, the hiſtory of thoſe very nations that firſt conveyed to the world, not the elements of literature only, but all ſorts of learning, arts, and ſciences in their full detail and perfection. We ſee that theſe had taken deep root, and were not eaſily extirpated. The firſt great and fatal blow they received was from the deſtruction of Thebes, and its monarchy, by the firſt invaſion of the Shepherds under Salatis, which ſhook them to the very foundation. The next was in the conqueſt of the Thebaid under Sabaco and his Shepherds. The third was when the empire of Lower Egypt (I do not think of the Thebaid) was transferred to Memphis, and that city taken, as writers ſay, by the Shepherds of Abaris only, or of the Delta, though it is ſcarcely probable, that, in ſo favourite a cauſe as the deſtruction of cities, the whole Shepherds did not lend their aſſiſtance.

THESE were the calamities, we may ſuppoſe, under which the arts in Egypt fell; for, as to the foreign conqueſts of Nebuchadnezzar and his Babylonians, they affected cities and the perſons of individuals only. They were temporary, never intended to have laſting conſequences; their beginning and end were propheſied at the ſame time. That of the Aſſyrians was a plundering expedition only, as we are told by ſcripture itſelf, intended to laſt but forty years *, half the life of man, given, for a particular purpoſe, for the indemnification of the king Nebuchadnezzar, for the hardſhips he ſuſtained at the ſiege of Tyre, where the obſtinacy of the inhabitants, in deſtroying their wealth, deprived the conqueror of his expected booty. The Babylonians were a people the moſt poliſhed after the Egyptians. Egypt under them ſuffered by rapacity, but not by ignorance, as it did in all the conqueſts of the Shepherds.

AFTER Thebes was deſtroyed by the firſt Shepherds, commerce, and it is probable the arts with it, fled for a time from Egypt, and centered in Edom, a city and territory, tho' we know little of its hiſtory, at that period the richeſt in the world. David, in the very neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, calls Edom the ſtrong city; "Who will bring me into the "ſtrong city? Who will lead me into Edom †?" David, from an old quarrel, and probably from the recent inſtigations of the Tyrians his friends, invaded Edom ‡, deſtroyed the city, and diſperſed the people. He was the great military power then upon the continent; Tyre and Edom were rivals; and his conqueſt of that laſt great

* Ezek. chap. xxix. ver. 11. † Pſalm. chap. lx. ver. 9. and Pſal. cviii. ver. 10.
‡ 2 Sam. chap. viii. ver. 14. 1 Kings chap. xi. ver. 15, 16.

great and trading ſtate, which he united to his empire, would yet have loſt him the trade he ſought to cultivate, by the very means he uſed to obtain it, had not Tyre been in a capacity to ſucceed to Edom, and to collect its mariners and artificers, ſcattered abroad by the conqueſt.

DAVID took poſſeſſion of two ports, Eloth and Ezion-gaber *, from which he carried on the trade to Ophir and Tarſhiſh, to a very great extent, to the day of his death. We are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment when we reflect upon the ſum that Prince received in ſo ſhort a time from theſe mines of Ophir. For what is ſaid to be given by King David † and his Princes for the building of the Temple of Jeruſalem, exceeds in value eight hundred millions of our money, if the talent there ſpoken of is a Hebrew talent ‡, and not a weight of the ſame denomination, the value of which was leſs, and peculiarly reſerved for and uſed in the traffic of theſe precious metals, gold and ſilver. It was, probably, an African or Indian weight, proper to the ſame mines, whence was gotten the gold appropriated to fine commodities only, as is the caſe with our ounce Troy different from the Averdupoiſe.

SOLOMON, who ſucceeded David in his kingdom, was his ſucceſſor likewiſe in the friendſhip of Hiram king of Tyre. Solomon

* 1 Kings, chap. ix. ver. 26. 2 Chron. chap. viii. ver. 17. † 1 Chron. chap. xxii. ver. 14, 15, 16. Chap. xxix. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.—Three thouſand Hebrew talents of gold, reduced to our money, amount to twenty-one millions and ſix hundred thouſand pounds Sterling.

‡ The value of a Hebrew talent appears from Exodus, chap. xxxviii. ver. 25, 26. For 603,550 perſons being taxed at half a ſhekel each, they muſt have paid in the whole 301,775 ſhekels: now that ſum is ſaid to amount to 100 talents, 1775 ſhekels only; deduct the two latter ſums, and there will remain 300,000, which, divided by 100, will leave 3000 ſhekels for each of theſe talents.

Solomon viſited Eloth and Ezion-gaber* in perſon, and fortified them. He collected a number of pilots, ſhipwrights, and mariners, diſperſed by his father's conqueſt of Edom, moſt of whom had taken refuge in Tyre and Sidon, the commercial ſtates in the Mediterranean. Hiram ſupplied him with ſailors in abundance; but the ſailors ſo furniſhed from Tyre were not capable of performing the ſervice which Solomon required, without the direction of pilots and mariners uſed to the navigation of the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Such were thoſe mariners who formerly lived in Edom, whom Solomon had now collected in Eloth and Ezion-gaber.

This laſt-mentioned navigation was very different in all reſpects from that of the Mediterranean, which, in reſpect to the former, might be compared to a pond, every ſide being confined with ſhores little diſtant the one from the other; even that ſmall extent of ſea was ſo full of iſlands, that there was much greater art required in the pilot to avoid land than to reach it. It was, beſides, ſubject to variable winds, being to the northward of 30° of latitude, the limits to which Providence hath confined thoſe winds all over the globe; whereas the navigation of the Indian Ocean was governed by laws more convenient and regular, though altogether different from thoſe that obtained in the Mediterranean. Before I proceed, it will be neceſſary to explain this phænomenon.

It is known to all thoſe who are ever ſo little verſant in the hiſtory of Egypt, that the wind from the north prevails in

* 2 Chron. chap. viii. ver. 17.

in that valley all the ſummer months, and is called the *Eteſian winds*; it ſweeps the valley from north to ſouth, that being the direction of Egypt, and of the Nile, which runs through the midſt of it. The two chains of mountains, which confine Egypt on the eaſt and on the weſt, conſtrain the wind to take this preciſe direction.

It is natural to ſuppoſe the ſame would be the caſe in the Arabian Gulf, had that narrow ſea been in a direction parallel to the land of Egypt, or due north and ſouth. The Arabian Gulf, however, or what we call the Red Sea, lies from nearly north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, from Suez to Mocha. It then turns nearly eaſt and weſt till it joins the Indian Ocean at the Straits of Babelmandeb, as we have already ſaid, and may be further ſeen by conſulting the map. Now, the Eteſian winds, which are due north in Egypt, here take the direction of the Gulf, and blow in that direction ſteadily all the ſeaſon, while it continues north in the valley of Egypt; that is, from April to October the wind blows north-weſt up the Arabian Gulf towards the Straits; and, from November till March, directly contrary, down the Arabian Gulf, from the Straits of Babelmandeb to Suez and the Iſthmus.

These winds are by ſome corruptly called *the trade-winds*; but this name given to them is a very erroneous one, and apt to confound narratives, and make them unintelligible. A trade-wind is a wind which, all the year through, blows, and has ever blown, from the ſame point of the horizon; ſuch is the ſouth-weſt, ſouth of the Line, in the Indian and Pacific Ocean. On the contrary, theſe winds, of which we have now ſpoken, are called *monſoons*; each year they blow

ſix months from the northward, and the other ſix months from the ſouthward, in the Arabian Gulf: While in the Indian Ocean, without the Straits of Babelmandeb, they blow juſt the contrary at the ſame ſeaſons; that is, in ſummer from the ſouthward, and in winter from the northward, ſubject to a ſmall inflexion to the eaſt and to the weſt.

The reader will obſerve, then, that, a veſſel ſailing from Suez or the Elanitic Gulf, in any of the ſummer months, will find a ſteady wind at north-weſt, which will carry it in the direction of the Gulf to Mocha. At Mocha, the coaſt is eaſt and weſt to the Straits of Babelmandeb, ſo that the veſſel from Mocha will have variable winds for a ſhort ſpace, but moſtly weſterly, and theſe will carry her on to the Straits. She is then done with the monſoon in the Gulf, which was from the north, and, being in the Indian Ocean, is taken up by the monſoon which blows in the ſummer months there, and is directly contrary to what obtains in the Gulf. This is a ſouth-weſter, which carries the veſſel with a flowing ſail to any part in India, without delay or impediment.

The ſame happens upon her return home. She ſails in the winter months by the monſoon proper to that ſea, that is, with a north-eaſt, which carries her through the Straits of Babelmandeb. She finds, within the Gulf, a wind at ſouth-eaſt, directly contrary to what was in the ocean; but then her courſe is contrary likewiſe, ſo that a ſouth-eaſter, anſwering to the direction of the Gulf, carries her directly to Suez, or the Elanitic Gulf, to whichever way ſhe propoſes going. Hitherto all is plain, ſimple, and eaſy to be

underſtood; and this was the reaſon why, in the earlieſt ages, the India trade was carried on without difficulty.

Many doubts, however, have ariſen about a port called *Ophir*, whence the immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver came, which were neceſſary at this time, when proviſion was making for building the Temple of Jeruſalem. In what part of the world this Ophir was has not been yet agreed. Connected with this voyage, too, was one to Tarſhiſh, which ſuffers the ſame difficulties; one and the ſame fleet performed them both in the ſame ſeaſon.

In order to come to a certainty where this Ophir was, it will be neceſſary to examine what ſcripture ſays of it, and to keep preciſely to every thing like deſcription which we can find there, without indulging our fancy farther. *Firſt*, then, the trade to Ophir was carried on from the Elanitic Gulf through the Indian Ocean. *Secondly*, The returns were gold, ſilver, and ivory, but eſpecially ſilver*. *Thirdly*, The time of the going and coming of the fleet was preciſely three years †, at no period more nor leſs.

Now, if Solomon's fleet ſailed from the Elanitic Gulf to the Indian Ocean, this voyage of neceſſity muſt have been made by monſoons, for no other winds reign in that ocean. And, what certainly ſhews this was the caſe, is the preciſe term of three years, in which the fleet went and came between Ophir and Ezion-gaber. For it is plain, ſo as to ſuperſede the neceſſity of proof or argument, that, had this

* 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 22. † 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 22. 2 Chron. chap. ix. ver. 21.

voyage been made with variable winds, no limited term of years ever could have been obſerved in its going and returning. The fleet might have returned from Ophir in two years, in three, four, or five years; but, with variable winds, the return preciſely in three years was not poſſible, whatever part of the globe Ophir might be ſituated in.

Neither Spain nor Peru could be Ophir; part of theſe voyages muſt have been made by variable winds, and the return conſequently uncertain. The iſland of Ceylon, in the Eaſt Indies, could not be Ophir; the voyage thither is indeed made by monſoons, but we have ſhewed that a year is all that can be ſpent in a voyage to the Eaſt Indies; beſides, Ceylon has neither gold nor ſilver, though it has ivory. St. Domingo has neither gold, nor ſilver, nor ivory. When the Tyrians diſcovered Spain, they found a profuſion of ſilver in huge maſſes, but this they brought to Tyre by the Mediterranean, and then ſent it to the Red Sea over land to anſwer the returns from India. Tarſhiſh, too, is not found to be a port in any of theſe voyages, ſo that part of the deſcription fails, nor were there ever elephants bred in Spain.

These mines of Ophir were probably what furniſhed the Eaſt with gold in the earlieſt times; great traces of excavation muſt, therefore, have appeared; yet in none of the places juſt mentioned are there great remains of any mines that have been wrought. The ancient traces of ſilver-mines in Spain are not to be found, and there never were any of gold. John Dos Santos *, a Dominican friar, ſays, that on the

* Vid. Voyage of Dos Santos, publiſhed by Le Grande.

the coaſt of Africa, in the kingdom of Sofala, the mainland oppoſite to Madagaſcar, there are mines of gold and ſilver, than which none can be more abundant, eſpecially in ſilver. They bear the traces of having been wrought from the earlieſt ages. They were actually open and working when the Portugueſe conquered that part of the peninſula, and were probably given up ſince the diſcovery of the new world, rather from political than any other reaſons.

John Dos Santos ſays, that he landed at Sofala in the year 1586; that he ſailed up the great river Cuama as far as Tetè, where, always deſirous to be in the neighbourhood of gold, his Order had placed their convent. Thence he penetrated for above two hundred leagues into the country, and ſaw the gold mines then working, at a mountain called Afura*. At a conſiderable diſtance from theſe are the ſilver mines of Chicoua; at both places there is great appearance of ancient excavations; and at both places the houſes of the kings are built with mud and ſtraw, whilſt there are large remains of maſſy buildings of ſtone and lime.

It is a tradition which generally obtains in that country, that theſe works belonged to the Queen of Saba, and were built at the time, and for the purpoſe of the trade on the Red Sea: this tradition is common to all the Cafrs in that country. Eupolemus, an ancient author quoted by Euſebius †, ſpeaking of David, ſays, that he built ſhips at Eloth, a city in Arabia, and thence ſent miners, or, as he

* See the map of this voyage. † Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

calls them, *metal-men*, to Orphi, or Ophir, an iſland in the Red Sea. Now, by the Red Sea, he underſtands the Indian Ocean *; and by Orphi, he probably meant the iſland of Madagaſcar; or Orphi (or Ophir) might have been the name of the Continent, inſtead of Sofala, that is, Sofala where the mines are might have been the main-land of Orphi.

The kings of the iſles are often mentioned in this voyage; Socotra, Madagaſcar, the Commorras, and many other ſmall iſlands thereabout, are probably thoſe the ſcripture calls the *Iſles*. All, then, at laſt reduces itſelf to the finding a place, either Sofala, or any other place adjoining to it, which avowedly can furniſh gold, ſilver, and ivory in quantity, has large tokens of ancient excavations, and is at the ſame time under ſuch reſtrictions from monſoons, that three years are abſolutely neceſſary to perform the voyage, that it needs no more, and cannot be done in leſs, and this is Ophir.

Let us now try theſe mines of Dos Santos by the laws of the monſoons, which we have already laid down in deſcribing the voyage to India. The fleet, or ſhip, for Sofala, parting in June from Ezion-gaber, would run down before the northern monſoon to Mocha. Here, not the monſoon, but the direction of the Gulf changes, and the violence of the ſouth-weſters, which then reign in the Indian Ocean, make themſelves at times felt even in Mocha Roads. The veſſel therefore comes to an anchor in the harbour of Mocha, and here ſhe waits for moderate weather and a fair wind, which

* Dionyſii Periegeſis, ver. 38. and Comment. Euſtathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemeri Geographia, lib. 2. cap. 11.

which carries her out of the Straits of Babelmandeb, through the few leagues where the wind is variable. If her courſe was now to the Eaſt Indies, that is eaſt-north-eaſt, or north-eaſt and by north, ſhe would find a ſtrong ſouth-weſt wind that would carry her to any part of India, as ſoon as ſhe cleared Cape Gardefan, to which ſhe was bound.

But matters are widely different if ſhe is bound for Sofala; her courſe is nearly ſouth-weſt, and ſhe meets at Cape Gardefan a ſtrong ſouth-weſter that blows directly in her teeth. Being obliged to return into the gulf, ſhe miſtakes this for a trade-wind, becauſe ſhe is not able to make her voyage to Mocha but by the ſummer monſoon, which carries her no farther than the Straits of Babelmandeb, and then leaves her in the face of a contrary wind, a ſtrong current to the northward, and violent ſwell.

The attempting this voyage with ſails, in theſe circumſtances, was abſolutely impoſſible, as their veſſels went only before the wind: if it was performed at all, it muſt have been by oars*, and great havock and loſs of men muſt have been the conſequence of the ſeveral trials. This is not conjecture only; the prophet Ezekiel deſcribes the very fact. Speaking of the Tyrian voyages probably of this very one he ſays, "Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters "(the ocean): the eaſt wind hath broken thee in the midſt of the ſeas†." In ſhort, the eaſt, that is the north-eaſt wind, was the very monſoon that was to carry them to Sofala, yet having no ſails, being upon a lee-ſhore, a very bold

3 coaſt,

* Ezek. chap. xxvii. ver. 6. † Ezek. chap. xxvii. ver. 26.

coaſt, and great ſwell, it was abſolutely impoſſible with oars to ſave themſelves from deſtruction.

At laſt philoſophy and obſervation, together with the unwearied perſeverance of man bent upon his own views and intereſt, removed theſe difficulties, and ſhewed the mariners of the Arabian Gulf, that theſe periodical winds, which, in the beginning, they looked upon as invincible barriers to the trading to Sofala, when once underſtood, were the very means of performing this voyage ſafely and expeditiouſly.

The veſſel trading to Sofala ſailed, as I have ſaid, from the bottom of the Arabian Gulf in ſummer, with the monſoon at north, which carried her to Mocha. There the monſoon failed her by the change of the direction of the Gulf. The ſouth-weſt winds, which blow without Cape Gardefan in the Indian Ocean, forced themſelves round the Cape ſo as to be felt in the road of Mocha, and make it uneaſy riding there. But theſe ſoon changed, the weather became moderate, and the veſſel, I ſuppoſe in the month of Auguſt, was ſafe at anchor under Cape Gardefan, where was the port which, many years afterwards, was called Promontorium Aromatum. Here the ſhip was obliged to ſtay all November, becauſe all theſe ſummer months the wind ſouth of the Cape was a ſtrong ſouth-weſter, as hath been before ſaid, directly in the teeth of the voyage to Sofala. But this time was not loſt; part of the goods bought to be ready for the return was ivory, frankincenſe, and myrrh; and the ſhip was then at the principal mart for theſe.

I suppose in November the veſſel ſailed with the wind at north-eaſt, with which ſhe would ſoon have made her voy-

age: But off the coaſt of Melinda, in the beginning of December, ſhe there met an anomalous monſoon at ſouth-weſt, in our days firſt obſerved by Dr Halley, which cut off her voyage to Sofala, and obliged her to put in to the ſmall harbour of *Mocha*, near Melinda, but nearer ſtill to Tarſhiſh, which we find here by accident, and which we think a ſtrong corroboration that we are right as to the reſt of the voyage. In the Annals of Abyſſinia, we ſee that Amda Sion, making war upon that coaſt in the 14th century, in a liſt of the rebellious Mooriſh vaſſals, mentions the Chief of Tarſhiſh as one of them, in the very ſituation where we have now placed him.

Solomon's veſſel, then, was obliged to ſtay at Tarſhiſh till the month of April of the ſecond year. In May, the wind ſet in at north-eaſt, and probably carried her that ſame month to Sofala. All the time ſhe ſpent at Tarſhiſh was not loſt, for part of her cargo was to be brought from that place, and ſhe probably bought, beſpoke, or left it there. From May of the ſecond year, to the end of that monſoon in October, the veſſel could not ſtir; the wind was north-eaſt. But this time, far from being loſt, was neceſſary to the traders for getting in their cargo, which we ſhall ſuppoſe was ready for them.

The ſhip ſails, on her return, in the month of November of the ſecond year, with the monſoon ſouth-weſt, which in a very few weeks would have carried her into the Arabian Gulf. But off Mocha, near Melinda and Tarſhiſh, ſhe met the north-eaſt monſoon, and was obliged to go into that port and ſtay there till the end of that monſoon; after which a ſouth-weſter came to her relief in May of the third year.

With

With the May monſoon ſhe ran to Mocha within the Straits, and was there confined by the ſummer monſoon blowing up the Arabian Gulf from Suez, and meeting her. Here ſhe lay till that monſoon, which in ſummer blows northerly from Suez, changed to a ſouth-eaſt one in October or November, and that very eaſily brought her up into the Elanitic Gulf, the middle or end of December of the third year. She had no need of more time to complete her voyage, and it was not poſſible ſhe could do it in leſs. In ſhort, ſhe changed the monſoon ſix times, which is thirty-ſix months, or three years exactly; and there is not another combination of monſoons over the globe, as far as I know, capable to effect the ſame. The reader will pleaſe to conſult the map, and keep it before him, which will remove any difficulties he may have. It is for his inſtruction this map has been made, not for that of the learned prelate * to whom it is inſcribed, much more capable of giving additional lights, than in need of receiving any information I can give, even on this ſubject.

The celebrated Monteſquieu conjectures, that Ophir was really on the coaſt of Africa; and the conjecture of that great man merits more attention than the aſſertions of ordinary people. He is too ſagacious, and too enlightened, either to doubt of the reality of the voyage itſelf, or to ſeek for Ophir and Tarſhiſh in China. Uninformed, however, of the particular direction of the monſoons upon the coaſt, firſt very ſlightly ſpoken of by Eudoxus, and lately obſerved and delienated

* Dr Douglas, Biſhop of Carliſle.

lineated by Dr Halley, he was ſtaggered upon conſidering that the whole diſtance, which employed a veſſel in Solomon's time for three years, was a thouſand leagues, ſcarcely more than the work of a month. He, therefore, ſuppoſes, that the reaſon of delay was owing to the imperfection of the veſſels, and goes into very ingenious calculations, reaſonings, and concluſions thereupon. He conjectures, therefore, that the ſhips employed by Solomon were what he calls *junks** of the Red Sea, made of papyrus, and covered with hides or leather.

Pliny† had ſaid, that one of theſe junks of the Red Sea was twenty days on a voyage, which a Greek or Roman veſſel would have performed in ſeven; and Strabo‡ had ſaid the ſame thing before him.

This relative ſlowneſs, or ſwiftneſs, will not ſolve the difficulty. For, if theſe junks‖ were the veſſels employed to Ophir, the long voyage, much more they would have been employed on the ſhort one, to and from India; now they performed this within a year, which was all a Roman or Greek veſſel could do, therefore this was not the cauſe. Thoſe employed by Solomon were Tyrian and Idumean veſſels, the beſt ſhips and ſailers of their age. Whoever has ſeen the prodigious ſwell, the violent currents, and ſtrong ſouth-weſters beyond the Straits of Babelmandeb, will not need any argument to perſuade him, that no veſſel made of papyrus, or leather, could live an hour upon that ſea. The

* Vide L'Eſprit des Loix, liv. xxi. cap. 6. p. 476. † Plin. lib. vi. cap. 22. ‡ Strabo, lib. xv.
‖ I know there are contrary opinions, and the junks might have been various. Vide Salm.

junks, indeed, were light and convenient boats, made to croſs the narrow gulf between the Sabeans and Homerites, or Cuſhites, at Azab upon the Red Sea, and carry proviſions from Arabia Felix to the more deſert coaſt of Azab. I have hinted, that the names of places ſufficiently demonſtrate the great loſs of men that happened to the traders to Sofala before the knowledge of the monſoons, and the introduction of the uſe of ſails.

I SHALL now conſider how far the thing is confirmed by the names of places in the language of the country, ſuch as they have retained among them to the preſent day.

THERE are three Mochas mentioned in this voyage, ſituated in countries very diſſimilar to, and diſtant from, each other. The firſt is in Arabia Deſerta, in lat. 30° nearly, not far from the bottom of the Gulf of Suez. The ſecond is in lat. 13°, a ſmall diſtance from the Straits of Babelmandeb. The third Mocha is in lat. 3° ſouth, near Tarſhiſh, on the coaſt of Melinda. Now, the meaning of Mocha, in the Ethiopic, is *priſon*; and is particularly given to theſe three places, becauſe, in any of them, a ſhip is forced to ſtay or be detained for months, till the changing of the monſoon ſets her at liberty to purſue her voyage. At Mocha, near the bottom of the Gulf of Suez, a veſſel, wanting to proceed ſouthward to Babelmandeb, is kept here in priſon all winter, till the ſummer monſoon ſets her at liberty. At Mocha, in Arabia Felix, the ſame happens to any veſſel wanting to proceed to Suez in the ſummer months; ſhe may come up from the Straits of Babelmandeb to Mocha Road by the accidental direction of the head of the Gulf; but, in the month of May, the north-weſt wind obliges her to put into Mocha,

and there to ſtay till the ſouth-caſter relieves her in November. After you double Gardefan, the ſummer monſoon, at north-caſt, is carrying your veſſel full ſail to Sofala, when the anomalous monſoon takes her off the coaſt of Melinda, and forces her into Tarſhiſh, where ſhe is impriſoned for ſix months in the Mocha there. So that this word is very emphatically applied to thoſe places where ſhips are neceſſarily detained by the change of monſoons, and proves the truth of what I have ſaid.

The laſt Cape on the Abyſſinian ſhore, before you run into the Straits, is Cape Defan, called by the Portugueſe, *Cape Daſui*. This has no meaning in any language; the Abyſſinians, on whoſe ſide it is, call it *Cape Defan*, the Cape of Burial. It was probably there where the eaſt wind drove aſhore the bodies of ſuch as had been ſhipwrecked in the voyage. The point of the ſame coaſt, which ſtretches out into the Gulf, before you arrive at Babelmandeb, was, by the Romans, called *Promontorium Aromatum*, and ſince, by the Portugueſe, *Cape Gardeſui*. But the name given it by the Abyſſinians and ſailors on the Gulf is, *Cape Gardefan*, the Straits of Burial.

Still nearer the Straits is a ſmall port in the kingdom of Adel, called *Mete*, *i. e.* Death, or, he or they are dead. And more to the weſtward, in the ſame kingdom, is Mount Felix, corruptly ſo called by the Portugueſe. The Latins call it Elephas Mons, the Mountain of the Elephant; and the natives, Jibbel Feel, which has the ſame ſignification. The Portugueſe, who did not know that Jibbel Feel was Elephas Mons, being miſled by the ſound, have called it *Jibbel Felix*, the Happy Mountain, a name to which it has no ſort of title.

The Straits by which we enter the Arabian Gulf are by the Portugueſe called Babelmandeb, which is nonſenſe. The name by which it goes among the natives is Babelmandeb, the Gate or Port of Affliction. And near it Ptolemy * places a town he calls, in the Greek, Mandaeth, which appears to me to be only a corruption of Mandeb. The Promontory that makes the ſouth ſide of the Straits, and the city thereupon, is *Diræ*, which means the Hades, or Hell, by Ptolemy † called Διρη. This, too, is a tranſlation of the ancient name, becauſe Διρη (or Diræ) has no ſignification in the Greek. A cluſter of iſlands you meet in the canal, after paſſing Mocha, is called Jibbel Zekir, or, the Iſlands of Prayer for the remembrance of the dead. And ſtill, in the ſame courſe up the Gulf, others are called Sebaat Gzier, Praiſe or Glory be to God, as we may ſuppoſe, for the return from this dangerous navigation.

All the coaſt to the eaſtward, to where Gardefan ſtretches out into the ocean, is the territory of Saba, which immemorially has been the mart of frankincenſe, myrrh, and balſam. Behind Saba, upon the Indian Ocean, is the *Regio Cinnamonifera*, where a conſiderable quantity of that wild cinnamon grows, which the Italian druggiſts call *canella*.

Inland near to Azab, as I have before obſerved, are large ruins, ſome of them of ſmall ſtones and lime adhering ſtrongly together. There is eſpecially an aqueduct, which brought formerly a large quantity of water from a fountain in the mountains, which muſt have greatly contributed to the beauty,

* Ptol. Geog. lib. 4. cap. 7. † id. ibid.

beauty, health, and pleaſure of Saba. This is built with large maſſy blocks of marble, brought from the neighbouring mountains, placed upon one another without lime or cement, but joined with thick cramps, or bars of braſs. There are likewiſe a number of wells, not ſix feet wide, compoſed of pieces of marble hewn to parts of a circle, and joined with the ſame bars of braſs alſo. This is exceedingly ſurpriſing, for Agatharcides * tells us, that the Alileans and Caſſandrins, in the ſouthern parts of Arabia, (juſt oppoſite to Azab), had among them gold in ſuch plenty, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for braſs, and ten times its weight for ſilver; that, in digging the earth, they found pieces of gold as big as olive-ſtones, but others much larger.

This ſeems to me extraordinary, if braſs was at ſuch a price in Arabia, that it could be here employed in the meaneſt and moſt common uſes. However this be, the inhabitants of the Continent, and of the peninſula of Arabia oppoſite to it, of all denominations agree, that this was the royal ſeat of the Queen of Saba, famous in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory for her journey to Jeruſalem; that theſe works belonged to her, and were erected at the place of her reſidence; that all the gold, ſilver, and perfumes came from her kingdom of Sofala, which was Ophir, and which reached from thence to Azab, upon the borders of the Red Sea, along the coaſt of the Indian Ocean.

It will very poſſibly be thought, that this is the place in which I ſhould mention the journey that the Queen of Saba made into Paleſtine; but as the dignity of the expedition it-

* Agath. p. 60.

ſelf, and the place it holds in Jewiſh antiquities, merits that it ſhould be treated in a place by itſelf, ſo the connection that it is ſuppoſed to have with the foundation of the monarchy of Abyſſinia, the country whoſe hiſtory I am going to write, makes this particularly proper for the ſake of connection; and I ſhall, therefore, continue the hiſtory of the trade of the Arabian Gulf to a period in which I can reſume the narrative of this expedition without occaſioning any interruption to either.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Fluctuating State of the India Trade—Hurt by Military Expeditions of the Perſians—Revives under the Ptolemies---Falls to Decay under the Romans.

THE proſperous days of the commerce with the Elanitic Gulf ſeemed to be at this time nearly paſt; yet, after the revolt of the ten tribes, Edom remaining to the houſe of David, they ſtill carried on a ſort of trade from the Elanitic Gulf, though attended with many difficulties. This continued till the reign of Jehoſaphat*; but, on Jehoram's ſucceeding that prince, the Edomites † revolted and choſe a king of their own, and were never after ſubject to the kings of Judah till the reign of Uzziah ‡, who conquered Eloth, fortified it, and having peopled it with a colony of his own, revived the old traffic. This ſubſiſted till the reign of Ahaz, when Rezin king of Damaſcus took Eloth ‖, and expelled the Jews, planting in their ſtead a colony of Syrians.

* 1 Kings, chap. xxii. ver. 48. 2 Chron. chap. xx. ver. 36. † 2 Kings, chap. viii. ver. 22. 2 Chron. chap. xxi. ver. 10. ‡ 2 Kings, chap. xiv. ver. 22. 2 Chron. chap. 26. ver. ii.
‖ 2 Kings, chap. xvi. ver. 6.

ans. But he did not long enjoy this good fortune, for the year after, Rezin * was conquered by Tilgath-pileſer; and one of the fruits of this victory was the taking of Eloth, which never after returned to the Jews, or was of any profit to Jeruſalem.

The repeated wars and conqueſt to which the cities on the Elanitic Gulf had been ſubject, the extirpation of the Edomites, all the great events that immediately followed one another, of courſe diſturbed the uſual channel of trade by the Red Sea, whoſe ports were now conſequently become unſafe by being in poſſeſſion of ſtrangers, robbers, and ſoldiers; it changed, therefore, to a place nearer the center of police and good government, than fortified and frontier towns could be ſuppoſed to be. The Indian and African merchants, by convention, met in Aſſyria, as they had done in Semiramis's time; the one by the Perſian Gulf and Euphrates, the other through Arabia. Aſſyria, therefore, became the mart of the India trade in the Eaſt.

The conqueſts of Nabopollaſer, and his ſon Nebuchadnezzar, had brought a prodigious quantity of bullion, both ſilver and gold, to Babylon his capital. For he had plundred Tyre †, and robbed Solomon's Temple ‡ of all the gold that had been brought from Ophir; and he had, beſides, conquered Egypt and laid it waſte, and cut off the communication of trade in all theſe places, by almoſt extirpating the people.

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* 2 Kings, chap. xvi. ver. 6.

† Ezek. chap. xxvi. ver. 7. ‡ 2 Kings, chap. xxiv ver. 13. and 2 Chron. chap. xxxvi. ver. 7.

people. Immenſe riches flowed to him, therefore, on all ſides, and it was a circumſtance particularly favourable to merchants in that country, that it was governed by written laws that ſcreened their properties from any remarkable violence or injuſtice.

I SUPPOSE the phraſe in ſcripture, "The law of the Medes and Perſians, which altereth not*," muſt mean only written laws, by which thoſe countries were governed, without being left to the diſcretion of the judge, as all the Eaſt was, and as it actually now is.

IN this ſituation the country was at the birth of Cyrus, who, having taken Babylon † and ſlain Belſhazzer‡, became maſter of the whole trade and riches of the Eaſt. Whatever character writers give of this great Prince, his conduct, with regard to the commerce of the country, ſhews him to have been a weak one: For, not content with the prodigious proſperity to which his dominions had arrived, by the misfortune of other nations, and perhaps by the good faith kept by his ſubjects to merchants, enforced by thoſe written laws, he undertook the moſt abſurd and diſaſtrous project of moleſting the traders themſelves, and invading India, that all at once he might render himſelf maſter of their riches. He executed this ſcheme juſt as abſurdly as he formed it; for, knowing that large caravans of merchants came into Perſia and Aſſyria from India, through the Ariana, (the deſert coaſt that runs all along the Indian Ocean to

* Dan. chap. vi. ver. 8. and Eſther, chap. i. ver. 19. and chap. vi. ver. 5. † Ezra, chap. v. ver. 14 ‡ Dan. chap. v. ver. 30.

the Perſian Gulf, almoſt entirely deſtitute of water, and very nearly as much ſo of proviſions, both which caravans always carry with them), he attempted to enter India by the very ſame road with a large army, the very ſame way his predeceſſor Semiramis had projected 1300 years before; and as her army had periſhed, ſo did his to a man, without haing ever had it in his power to take one pepper-corn by force from any part of India.

The ſame fortune attended his ſon and ſucceſſor Cambyſes, who, obſerving the quantity of gold brought from Ethiopia into Egypt, reſolved to march to the ſource, and at once make himſelf maſter of thoſe treaſures by rapine, which he thought came too ſlowly through the medium of commerce.

Cambyses's expedition into Africa is too well known for me to dwell upon it in this place. It hath obtained a celebrity by the abſurdity of the project, by the enormous cruelty and havock that attended the courſe of it, and by the great and very juſt puniſhment that cloſed it in the end. It was one of thoſe many monſtrous extravagancies which made up the life of the greateſt madman that ever diſgraced the annals of antiquity. The baſeſt mind is perhaps the moſt capable of avarice; and when this paſſion has taken poſſeſſion of the human heart, it is ſtrong enough to excite us to undertakings as great as any of thoſe dictated by the nobleſt of our virtues.

Cambyses, amidſt the commiſſion of the moſt horrid exceſſes during the conqueſt of Egypt, was informed that, from the ſouth of that country, there wasconſtantly brought a quantity

a quantity of pure gold, independent of what came from the top of the Arabic Gulf, which was now carried into Aſſyria, and circulated in the trade of his country. This ſupply of gold belonged properly and excluſively to Egypt; and a very lucrative, though not very extenſive commerce, was, by its means, carried on with India. He found out that the people, poſſeſſing theſe treaſures, were called *Macrobii*, which ſignifies *long livers;* and that they poſſeſſed a country divided from him by lakes, mountains, and deſerts. But what ſtill affected him moſt was, that in his way were a multitude of warlike Shepherds, with whom the reader is already ſufficiently acquainted.

Cambyses, to flatter, and make peace with them, fell furiouſly upon all the gods and temples in Egypt; he murdered the ſacred ox, the apis, deſtroyed Memphis, and all the public buildings wherever he went. This was a gratification to the Shepherds, being equally enemies to thoſe that worſhipped beaſts, or lived in cities. After this introduction, he concluded peace with them in the moſt ſolemn manner, each nation vowing eternal amity with the other. Notwithſtanding which, no ſooner was he arrived at Thebes (in Egypt) than he detached a large army to plunder the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, the greateſt object of the worſhip of theſe *ſhepherds;* which army utterly periſhed without a man remaining, covered, as I ſuppoſe, by the moving ſands. He then began his march againſt the *Macrobii*, keeping cloſe to the Nile. The country there being too high to receive any benefit from the inundation of the river, produced no corn, ſo that part of his army died for want of proviſion.

Another detachment of his army proceeded to the country of the Shepherds, who, indeed, furniſhed him with food; but, exaſperated at the ſacrilege he had committed againſt their god, they conducted his troops through places where they could procure no water. After ſuffering all this loſs, he was not yet arrived beyond 24°, the parallel of Syené. From hence he diſpatched ambaſſadors, or ſpies, to diſcover the country before him, finding he could no longer rely upon the Shepherds. Theſe found it full of black warlike people, of great ſize, and prodigious ſtrength of body; active, and continually exerciſed in hunting the lion, the elephant, and other monſtrous beaſts which live in theſe foreſts.

The inhabitants ſo abounded with gold, that the moſt common utenſils and inſtruments were made of that metal, whilſt, at the ſame time, they were utter ſtrangers to bread of any kind whatever; and, not only ſo, but their country was, by its nature, incapable of producing any ſort of grain from which bread could be made. They ſubſiſted upon raw fleſh alone, dried in the ſun, eſpecially that of the rhinoceros, the elephant, and giraffa, which they had ſlain in hunting. On ſuch food they have ever ſince lived, and live to this day, and on ſuch food I myſelf have lived with them; yet ſtill it appears ſtrange, that people confined to this diet, without variety or change, ſhould have it for their characteriſtic that they were long livers.

They were not at all alarmed at the arrival of Cambyſes's ambaſſadors. On the contrary, they treated them as an inferior ſpecies of men. Upon aſking them about their diet, and

and hearing it was upon bread, they called it *dung*, I ſuppoſe as having the appearance of that bread which I have ſeen the miſerable Agows, their neighbours, make from ſeeds of baſtard rye, which they collect in their fields under the burning rays of the ſun. They laughed at Cambyſes's requiſition of ſubmitting to him, and did not conceal their contempt of his idea of bringing an army thither.

They treated ironically his hopes of conqueſt, even ſuppoſing all difficulties of the deſert overcome, and his army ready to enter their country, and counſeled him to return while he was well, at leaſt for a time, till he ſhould produce a man of his army that could bend the bow that they then ſent him; in which caſe, he might continue to advance, and have hope of conqueſt.---The reaſon of their reference to the bow will be ſeen afterwards. I mention theſe circumſtances of the quantity of gold, the hunting of elephants, their living upon the raw fleſh, and, above all, the circumſtances of the bow, as things which I myſelf can teſtify to have met with among this very people. It is, indeed, highly ſatisfactory in travelling, to be able to explain truths which, from a want of knowledge of the country alone, have been treated as falſehoods, and placed to the diſcredit of hiſtorians.

The Perſians were all famous archers. The mortification, therefore, they experienced, by receiving the bow they could not bend, was a very ſenſible one, though the narrative of the quantity of gold the meſſengers had ſeen made a much greater impreſſion upon Cambyſes. To procure this

this treaſure was, however, impracticable, as he had no proviſion, nor was there any in the way of his march. His army, therefore, waſted daily by death and diſperſion; and he had the mortification to be obliged to retreat into Egypt, after part of his troops had been reduced to the neceſſity of eating each other *.

Darius, king of Perſia, attempted to open this trade in a much more worthy and liberal manner, as he ſent ſhips down the river Indus into the ocean, whence they entered the Red Sea. It is probable, in this voyage, he acquired all the knowledge neceſſary for eſtabliſhing this trade in Perſia; for he muſt have paſſed through the Perſian Gulf, and along the whole eaſtern coaſt of Arabia; he muſt have ſeen the marts of perfumes and ſpices that were at the mouth of the Red Sea, and the manner of bartering for gold and ſilver, as he was neceſſarily in thoſe trading places which were upon the very ſame coaſt from which the bullion was brought. I do not know, then, why M. de Monteſquieu † has treated this expedition of Darius ſo contemptuouſly, as it appears to have been executed without great trouble or expence, and terminated without loſs or hardſhip; the ſtrongeſt proof that it was at firſt wiſely planned. The prince himſelf was famous for his love of learning, which we find by his anxiety to be admitted among the Magi, and the ſenſe he had of that honour, in cauſing it to be engraved upon his tomb.

The

* Lucan lib. x. ver. 280. † Vide Monteſq. liv. 21. chap 8.

The expedition of Alexander into India was, of all events, that which moſt threatened the deſtruction of the commerce of the Continent, or the diſperſing it into different channels throughout the Eaſt: Firſt, by the deſtruction of Tyre, which muſt have, for a time, annihilated the trade by the Arabian Gulf; then by his march through Egypt into the country of the Shepherds, and his intended further progreſs into Ethiopia to the head of the Nile. If we may judge of what we hear of him in that part of his expedition, we ſhould be apt not to believe, as others are fond of doing, that he had ſchemes of commerce mingled with thoſe of conqueſts. His anxiety about his own birth at the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, this firſt queſtion that he aſked of the prieſt, "Where the Nile had its ſource," ſeemed to denote a mind buſied about other objects; for elſe he was then in the very place for information, being in the temple of that horned god *, the deity of the Shepherds, the African carriers of the Indian produce; a temple which, though in the midſt of ſand, and deſtitute of gold or ſilver, poſſeſſed more and better information concerning the trade of India and Africa, than could be found in any other place on the Continent. Yet we do not hear of one queſtion being made, or one arrangement taken, relative to opening the India trade with Thebes, or with Alexandria, which he built afterwards.

After having viewed the main ocean to the ſouth, he ordered Nearchus with his fleet to coaſt along the Perſian Gulf, accompanied by part of the army on land for their mutual aſſiſtance, as there were a great many hardſhips

* Lucan, lib. 9. ver. 515.

which followed the march of the army by land, and much difficulty and danger attended the ſhipping as they were ſailing in unknown ſeas againſt the monſoons. Nearchus himſelf informed the king at Babylon of his ſucceſsful voyage, who gave him orders to continue it into the Red Sea, which he happily accompliſhed to the bottom of the Arabian Gulf.

We are told it was his intention to carry on the India trade by the Gulf of Perſia, for which reaſon he broke down all the cataracts and dams which the Perſians had built over the rivers communicating with the Euphrates. No uſe, however, ſeems to have been made of his knowledge of Arabia and Ethiopia, which makes me imagine this expedition of Alexander's fleet was not an idea of his own. It is, indeed, ſaid, that when Alexander came into India, the ſouthern or Indian Ocean was perfectly unknown; but I am rather inclined to believe from this circumſtance, that this voyage was made from ſome memorials remaining concerning the voyage of Darius. The fact and circumſtances of Darius's voyage are come down to us, and, by theſe very ſame means, it muſt be probable they reached Alexander, who I do not believe ever intended to carry on the India trade at Babylon.

To render it impoſſible, indeed, he could not have done three things more effectual than he did, when he deſtroyed Tyre, and diſperſed its inhabitants, perſecuted the Orites, or land-carriers, in the Ariana, and built Alexandria upon the Mediterranean; which laſt ſtep fixed the Indian trade in that city, and would have kept it there eternally, had the Cape of Good Hope never been diſcovered.

THE Ptolemies, the wiſeſt princes that ever ſat upon the throne of Egypt, applied with the utmoſt care and attention to cultivate the trade of India, to keep up perfect and friendly underſtanding with every country that ſupplied any branch of it, and, inſtead of diſturbing it either in Aſia, Arabia, or Ethiopia, as their predeceſſors had done, they uſed their utmoſt efforts to encourage it in all quarters.

PTOLEMY I. was then reigning in Alexandria, the foundation of whoſe greatneſs he not only laid, but lived to ſee it arrive at the greateſt perfection. It was his conſtant ſaying, that the true glory of a king was not in being rich himſelf, but making his ſubjects ſo. He, therefore, opened his ports to all trading nations, encouraged ſtrangers of every language, protected caravans, and a free navigation by ſea, by which, in a few years, he made Alexandria the great ſtore-houſe of merchandize, from India, Arabia, and Ethiopia. He did ſtill further to inſure the duration of his kingdom, at the ſame time that he ſhewed the utmoſt diſintereſtedneſs for the future happineſs of his people. He educated his ſon, Ptolemy Philadelphus, with the utmoſt care, and the happy genius of that prince had anſwered his father's utmoſt expectations; and, when he arrived at the age of governing, the father, worn out by the fatigue of long wars, ſurrendered the kingdom to his ſon.

PTOLEMY had been a ſoldier from his infancy, and conſequently kept up a proper military force, that made him every where reſpected in theſe warlike and unſettled times. He had a fleet of two hundred ſhips of war conſtantly ready in the port of Alexandria, the only part for which he had apprehenſions. All behind him was wiſely governed, whilſt

it enjoyed a moſt flouriſhing trade, to the proſperity of which peace is neceſſary. He died in peace and old age, after having merited the glorious name of *Soter*, or *Saviour of the kingdom*, which he himſelf had founded, the greateſt part of which differed from him in language, colour, habit, and religion.

It is with aſtoniſhment we ſee how thoroughly he had eſtabliſhed the trade of India, Ethiopia, and Arabia, and what progreſs he had already made towards uniting it with that of Europe, by a paſſage in Athenæus*, who mentions a feſtival and entertainment given by his ſon, Ptolemy Philadelphus, to the people of Alexandria at his acceſſion, while his father was alive, but had juſt given up his crown.

There was in this proceſſion a great number of Indian women, beſides of other countries; and by Indians we may underſtand, not only the Aſiatic Indians, but the Abyſſinians, and the inhabitants of the higher part of Africa, as all theſe countries were comprehended under the common appellation of *India*. Theſe were in the habit of ſlaves, and each led, or was followed by, a camel loaded with incenſe of Sheher, and cinnamon, beſides other aromatics. After theſe came a number of Ethiopian blacks carrying the teeth of 600 elephants. Another troop had a prodigious quantity of ebony; and again others loaded with that fineſt gold, which is not dug from the mine, but waſhed from the mountains by the tropical rains in ſmall pieces, or pellets, which

* Athen. lib. 5.

which the natives and traders at this day call *Tibbar*. Next came a pack of 24,000 Indian dogs, all Aſiatics, from the peninſula of India, followed by a prodigious number of foreign animals, both beaſts and birds, paroquets, and other birds of Ethiopia, carried in cages; 130 Ethiopian ſheep, 300 Arabian, and 20 from the Iſle Nubia*; 26 Indian buffaloes, white as ſnow, and eight from Ethiopia; three brown bears, and a white one, which laſt muſt have been from the north of Europe; 14 leopards, 16 panthers, four lynxes, one giraffa, and a rhinoceros of Ethiopia.

When we reflect upon this prodigious mixture of animals, all ſo eaſily procured at one time, without preparation, we may imagine, that the quantity of merchandiſes, for common demand, which accompanied them, muſt have been in the proper proportion.

The current of trade ran towards Alexandria with the greateſt impetuoſity, all the articles of luxury of the Eaſt were to be found there. Gold and ſilver, which were ſent formerly to Tyre, came now down to the Iſthmus (for Tyre was no more) by a much ſhorter carriage, thence to Memphis, whence it was ſent down the Nile to Alexandria. The gold from the weſt and ſouth parts of the Continent reached the ſame port with much leſs time and riſk, as there was now no Red Sea to paſs; and here was found the merchandiſe of Arabia and India in the greateſt profuſion.

* This is probably from Atbara, or the old name of the iſland of Meroë, which had received that laſt name only as late as Cambyſes.

To facilitate the communication with Arabia, Ptolemy built a town on the coaſt of the Red Sea, in the country of the Shepherds, and called it *Berenice**, after his mother. This was intended as a place of neceſſary refreſhment for all the traders up and down the Gulf, whether of India or Ethiopia; hence the cargoes of merchants, who were afraid of loſing the monſoons, or had loſt them, were carried by the inhabitants of the country, in three days, to the Nile, and there embarked for Alexandria. To make the communication between the Nile and the Red Sea ſtill more commodious, this prince tried an attempt (which had twice before miſcarried with very great loſs) to bring a canal† from the Red Sea to the Nile, which he actually accompliſhed, joining it to the Peluſiac, or Eaſtern branch of the Nile. Locks and ſluices moreover are mentioned as having been employed even in thoſe early days by Ptolemy, but very trifling ones could be needed, for the difference of level is there but very ſmall.

This noble canal, one hundred yards broad, was not of that uſe to trade which was expected; merchants were weary of the length of time conſumed in going to the very bottom of the Gulf, and afterwards with this inland navigation of the canal, and that of the Nile, to Alexandria. It was therefore much more expeditious to unload at Berenice, and, after three days journey, ſend their merchandiſe directly down to Alexandria. Thus the canal was diſuſed, the goods paſſed from Berenice to the Nile by land, and that road continues open for the ſame purpoſe to this day.

It

* Plin. lib. 6. cap. 23. † Strabo, lib. 17. p. 932.

It ſhould appear, that Ptolemy had employed the veſſels of India and the Red Sea, to carry on his commerce with the peninſula, and that the manner of trading directly to India with his own ſhips, was either not known or forgotten. He therefore ſent two ambaſſadors, or meſſengers, Megaſthenes and Denis, to obſerve and report what was the ſtate of India ſince the death of Alexander. Theſe two performed their voyage ſafely and ſpeedily. The account they gave of India, if it was ſtrictly a true one, was, in all reſpects, perfectly calculated to animate people to the further proſecution of that trade. In the mean time, in order to procure more convenience for veſſels trading on the Red Sea, he reſolved to attempt the penetrating into that part of Ethiopia which lies on that ſea, and, as hiſtorians imagine, with an intention to plunder the inhabitants of their riches.

It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, that Ptolemy was not enough acquainted with the productions of a country ſo near to Egypt, as to know this part of it had neither gold nor ſilver, whilſt it was full of foreſts likewiſe; for it was that part of Ethiopia called Barbaria, at this day Barabra, inhabited by ſhepherds wandering with their cattle about the neighbouring mountains according as the rains fall. Another more probable conjecture was, that he wanted, by bringing about a change of manners in theſe people, to make them uſeful to him in a matter that was of the higheſt importance.

Ptolemy, like his father, had a very powerful fleet and army, he but was inferior to many of the princes, his rivals, in elephants, of which great uſe was then made in war. Theſe Ethiopians were hunters, and killed them for their ſubſiſtence. Ptolemy, however, wiſhed to have them taken

alive, being numerous, and hoped both to furniſh himſelf, and diſpoſe of them as an article of trade, to his neighbours.

THERE is ſomething indeed ridiculous in the manner in which he executed this expedition. Aware of the difficulty of ſubſiſting in that country, he choſe only a hundred Greek horſemen, whom he covered with coats of monſtrous appearance and ſize, which left nothing viſible but the eyes of the rider. Their horſes too were diſguiſed by huge trappings, which took from them all proportion and ſhape. In this manner they entered this part of Ethiopia, ſpreading terror every where by their appearance, to which their ſtrength and courage bore a ſtrict proportion whenever they came to action. But neither force nor intreaty could gain any thing upon theſe Shepherds, or ever make them change or forſake the food they had been ſo long accuſtomed to; and all the fruit Ptolemy reaped from this expedition, was to build a city, by the ſea-ſide, in the ſouth-eaſt corner of this country, which he called Ptolemais Theron, or Ptolemais in the country of wild beaſts.

I HAVE already obſerved, but ſhall again repeat it, that the reaſon why ſhips, in going up and down the Red Sea, kept always upon the Ethiopian ſhore, and why the greateſt number of cities were always built upon that ſide is, that water is much more abundant on the Ethiopian ſide than the Arabian, and it was therefore of the greateſt conſequence to trade to have that coaſt fully diſcovered and civilized. Indeed it is more than probable, that nothing further was intended by the expedition of the hundred Greeks, juſt now mentioned, than to gain ſufficient intelligence how this might be done moſt perfectly.

PTOLEMY EVERGETES, ſon and ſucceſſor of Ptolemy Philadelphus, availed himſelf of this diſcovery. Having provided himſelf amply with neceſſaries for his army, and ordered a fleet to coaſt along beſide him, up the Red Sea, he penetrated quite through the country of the Shepherds into that of the Ethiopian Troglodytes, who are black and woolly-headed, and inhabit the low country quite to the mountains of Abyſſinia. Nay *, he even aſcended thoſe mountains, forced the inhabitants to ſubmiſſion, built a large temple at Axum, the capital of Sirè, and raiſed a great many obeliſks, ſeveral of which are ſtanding to this day. Afterwards proceeding to the ſouth-eaſt, he deſcended into the cinnamon and myrrh country, behind Cape Gardefan, (the Cape that terminates the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean) from this, croſſed over to Arabia, to the Homerites, being the ſame people with the Abyſſinians, only on the Arabian ſhore. He then conquered ſeveral of the Arabian princes, who firſt reſiſted him, and had it in his power to have put an end to the trade of India there, had he not been as great a politician as he was a warrior. He uſed his victory, therefore, in no other manner, than to exhort and oblige theſe princes to protect trade, encourage ſtrangers, and, by every means, provide for the ſurety of neutral intercourſe, by making rigorous examples of robbers by ſea and land.

THE reigns of the latter Ptolemies were calculated to bring this commerce to a decline, had it not been for two great events, the fall of Carthage, deſtroyed by Scipio, and that of Corinth, by the conſul Mummius. The importance of theſe

* Mon. Aduli.

theſe events to Alexandria ſeems to have ſuſtained the proſperity of Egypt, even againſt the ravages committed in the war between Ptolemy the VI. and VII. Alexandria was then beſieged, and not only deprived of its riches, but reduced to the utmoſt want of neceſſaries, and the horrid behaviour of Ptolemy VII. (had it continued) would have ſoon rendered that city deſolate. The conſequence of ſuch a conduct, however, made a ſtrong impreſſion on the prince himſelf, who, at once recalling his unjuſt edicts, by which he had baniſhed all foreign merchants from Alexandria, became on a ſudden wholly addicted to commerce, the encourager of arts and ſciences, and the protector of ſtrangers.

The impolitic conduct in the beginning of his reign, however, had affected trade even in India. For the ſtory preſerved by Poſidonius, and very improperly criticiſed by Strabo, ſeems to import little leſs. One day, the troops poſted on the Arabian Gulf found a ſhip abandoned to the waves, on board of which was one Indian only, half dead with hunger and thirſt, whom they brought to the king. This Indian declared he ſailed from his own country, and, having loſt his courſe and ſpent all his proviſions, he was carried to the place where he was found, without knowing where he was, and after having ſurvived the reſt of his companions: he concluded an imperfect narrative, by offering to be a guide to any perſon his majeſty would ſend to India. His propoſals were accordingly accepted, and Eudoxus was named by the king to accompany him. Strabo * indeed laughs at this

* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 98.

this ſtory. However, we muſt ſay, he has not ſeized the moſt ridiculous parts of it.

We are told that the king ordered the Indian to be taught Greek, and waited with patience till he had learned that language. Surely, before any perſon could thus inſtruct him, the maſter muſt have had ſome language in common with his ſcholar, or he had better have taught Eudoxus the Indian language, as it would have been as eaſy, and of much more uſe in the voyage he was to undertake. Beſides, is it poſſible to believe, after the many years the Egyptians traded backwards and forwards to India, that there was not a man in Alexandria who could interpret for him to the king, when ſuch a number of Egyptians went every year to India to trade, and ſtayed there for months each time? Could Ptolemy Philadelphus, at his father's feſtival, find 600 Indian female ſlaves, all at once, in Alexandria; and, after the trade had laſted ſo much longer, were the people from India decreaſed, or would their language be leſs underſtood? The king's wiſdom, moreover, did not ſhew itſelf greatly, when he was going to truſt a ſhip with his ſubjects to ſo ſkilful a pilot as this Indian, who, in the firſt voyage, had loſt himſelf and all his companions.

India, however, and the Indian ſeas, were as well known in Egypt as they are now; and the magnificence and ſhew which attended Eudoxus's embaſſy ſeems to prove, that whatever truth there is in the Indian being found, Eudoxus' errand muſt have been to remove the bad effects that the king's extortions and robberies, committed upon all ſtrangers in the beginning of his reign, had made upon the trading nations. Eudoxus returned, but after the death of Ptole-

my. The neceſſity, however, of this voyage appeared ſtill great enough to make Cleopatra his widow project a ſecond to the ſame place, and greater preparations were made than for the former one.

But Eudoxus, trying experiments probably about the courſes of the trade-winds, loſt his paſſage, and was thrown upon the coaſt of Ethiopia; where, having landed, and made himſelf agreeable to the natives, he brought home to Egypt a particular deſcription of that country and its produce, which furniſhed all the diſcovery neceſſary to inſtruct the Ptolemies in every thing that related to the ancient trade of Arabia. In the courſe of the voyage, Eudoxus diſcovered the part of the prow of a veſſel which had been broken off by a ſtorm. The figure of a horſe made it an object of inquiry; and ſome of the ſailors on board, who had been employed in European voyages, immediately knew this wreck to be part of one of thoſe veſſels uſed to trade on the weſtern ocean. Eudoxus * inſtantly perceived all the importance of the diſcovery, which amounted to nothing leſs, than that there was a paſſage round Africa from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. Full of this thought, he returned to Egypt, and, having ſhewn the prow of his veſſel to European ſhipmaſters, they all declared that this had been part of a veſſel which had belonged to Cadiz, in Spain.

This diſcovery, great as it was, was to none of more importance than to Eudoxus; for, ſome time after, falling under the diſpleaſure of Ptolemy Lathyrus, VIIIth of that name,

* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 67.

name, and being in danger of his life, he fled and embarked on the Red Sea, failed round the peninſula of Africa, croſſed the Atlantic Ocean, and came ſafely to Cadiz.

The ſpirit of inquiry, and deſire of travelling, ſpread itſelf inſtantly through Egypt, upon this voyage of Eudoxus; and different travellers puſhed their diſcoveries into the heart of the country, where ſome of the nations are reported to have been ſo ignorant as not to know the uſe of fire: ignorance almoſt incredible, had we not an inſtance of it in our own times. It was in the reign of Ptolemy IX. that Agatharcides * drew up his deſcription of the Red Sea.

The reigns of the other Ptolemies ending in the XIIIth of that name, though full of great events, have nothing material to our preſent ſubject. Their conſtant expence and profuſion muſt have occaſioned a great conſumption of trading articles, and very little elſe was wanting; or, if there had, it muſt have arrived at its height in the reign of the celebrated Cleopatra; whoſe magnificence, beauty, and great talents, made her a wonder, greater than any in her capital. In her time, all nations flocked, as well for curioſity as trade, to Alexandria; Arabs, Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Jews, and Medes; and all were received and protected by this princeſs, who ſpoke to each of them in his own language†.

The diſcovery of Spain, and the poſſeſſion of the mines of Attica from which they drew their ſilver, and the revo-

* Dodwell's Diſſertat. vol. 1. Scrip. Græc. Min. Id. Ox. 1698. 8vo.

† Plut. Vita. Ant. p. 913. tom. 1. part 2. Lubec. 1624. fol.

lution that happened in Egypt itſelf, ſeemed to have ſuperſeded the communication with the coaſt of Africa; for, in Strabo's time, few of the ports of the Indian Ocean, even thoſe neareſt the Red Sea, were known. I ſhould, indeed, ſuppoſe, that the trade to India by Egypt decreaſed from the very time of the conqueſt by Cæſar. The mines the Romans had at the ſource of the river Betis*, in Spain, did not produce them above L. 15,000 a-year; this was not a ſufficient capital for carrying on the trade to India, and therefore the immenſe riches of the Romans ſeem to have been derived from the greatneſs of the prices, not from the extent of the trade. In fact †, we are told that 100 *per cent.* was a profit in common trade upon the Indian commodities. Egypt now, and all its neighbourhood, began to wear a face of war, to which it had been a ſtranger for ſo many ages. The north of Africa was in conſtant troubles, after the firſt ruin of Carthage; ſo that we may imagine the trade to India began again, on that ſide, to be carried on pretty much in the ſame manner it had been before the days of Alexander. But it had enlarged itſelf very much on the Perſian ſide, and found an eaſy, ſhort inlet, into the north of Europe, which then furniſhed them a market and conſumption of ſpices.

I MUST confeſs, notwithſtanding, if it is true what Strabo ſays he heard himſelf in Egypt, that the Romans employed one hundred and twenty veſſels in the Indian trade‡, it muſt at that time have loſt very little of its vigour. We muſt, however, imagine, that great part of this was for the account,

* Strabo, lib. 3. † Plin. lib. vi. cap. 23. ‡ Strabo, lib. 2. p. 81.

account, and with the funds of foreign merchants. The Jews in Alexandria, until the reign of Ptolemy Phiſcon, had carried on a very extenſive part of the India trade. All Syria was mercantile; and lead, iron, and copper, ſupplied, in ſome manner, the deficiency of gold and ſilver, which never again was in ſuch abundance till after the diſcovery of America.

But the ancient trade to India, by the Arabian Gulf and Africa, carried on by the medium of theſe two metals, remained at home undiminiſhed with the Ethiopians, defended by large extenſive deſerts, and happy with the enjoyment of riches and ſecurity, till a freſh diſcovery again introduced to them both partners and maſters in their trade.

One of the reaſons that makes me imagine the Indian trade was not flouriſhing, or in great eſteem; immediately upon the Roman conqueſt of Egypt, is, that Auguſtus, very ſoon after, attempted to conquer Arabia. He ſent Elius Gallus, with an army from Egypt into Arabia, who found there a number of effeminate, timid people, ſcarcely to be driven to ſelf-defence by violence, and ignorant of every thing that related to war. Elius, however, found that they overmatched him in cunning, and the perfect knowledge of the country, which their conſtant employment as carriers had taught them. His guides led him round from hardſhip to hardſhip, till his army almoſt periſhed with hunger and thirſt, without ſeeing any of thoſe riches his maſter had ſent him to take poſſeſſion of.

Thus was the Arabian expedition of Auguſtus conceived with the ſame views as thoſe of Semiramis, Cyrus, and Cambyſes, deſervedly as unhappy in its iſſue as theſe firſt had been.

That the African trade, moreover, was loſt, appears from Strabo*, and his reaſoning upon the voyage of Eudoxus, which he treats as a fable. But his reaſoning proves juſt the contrary, and this voyage was one foundation for opening this trade again, and making this coaſt more perfectly known. This likewiſe appears clear from Ptolemy †, who, ſpeaking of a promontory or cape oppoſite to Madagaſcar, on the coaſt of Africa, ſays it was inhabited by anthropophagi, or man-eaters, and that all beyond 8° ſouth was unknown, and that this cape extended to and joined the continent of India ‡.

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* Strabo, lib. ii. p. 98. † Ptol. lib. iv. cap. 9. p. 115. ‡ Ptol. lib. vii. cap. 3.

CHAP. VI.

Queen of Saba viſits Jeruſalem—Abyſſinian Tradition concerning Her—Suppoſed Founder of that Monarchy—Abyſſinia embraces the Jewiſh Religion—Jewiſh Hierarchy ſtill retained by the Falaſha—Some Conjectures concerning their Copy of the Old Teſtament.

IT is now that I am to fulfil my promiſe to the reader, of giving him ſome account of the viſit made by the Queen of Sheba*, as we erroneouſly call her, and the conſequences of that viſit; the foundation of an Ethiopian monarchy, and the continuation of the ſceptre in the tribe of Judah, down to this day. If I am obliged to go back in point of time, it is, that I may preſerve both the account of the trade of the Arabian Gulf, and of this Jewiſh kingdom, diſtinct and unbroken.

WE are not to wonder, if the prodigious hurry and flow of buſineſs, and the immenſely valuable tranſactions they had with each other, had greatly familiariſed the Tyrians and

* It ſhould properly be Saba, Azab, or Azaba, all ſignifying *South*.

and Jews, with their correſpondents the Cuſhites and Shepherds on the coaſt of Africa. This had gone ſo far, as very naturally to have created a deſire in the queen of Azab, the ſovereign of that country, to go herſelf and ſee the application of ſuch immenſe treaſures that had been exported from her country for a ſeries of years, and the prince who ſo magnificently employed them. There can be no doubt of this expedition, as Pagan, Arab, Moor, Abyſſinian, and all the countries round, vouch it pretty much in the terms of ſcripture.

Many* have thought this queen was an Arab. But Saba was a ſeparate ſtate, and the Sabeans a diſtinct people from the Ethiopians and the Arabs, and have continued ſo till very lately. We know, from hiſtory, that it was a cuſtom among theſe Sabeans, to have women for their ſovereigns in preference to men, a cuſtom which ſtill ſubſiſts among their deſcendents.

——— *Medis levibuſque Sabæis,*
Imperat hos ſexus Reginarumque ſubarmis,
Barbariæ †, *pars magna jacet.* Claudian.

Her name, the Arabs ſay, was *Belkis;* the Abyſſinians, *Maqueda.* Our Saviour calls her *Queen of the South*, without mentioning any other name, but gives his ſanction to the truth of the voyage. "The Queen of the South (or Saba, "or

* Such as Juſtin, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Cyril.

† By this is meant the country between the tropic and mountains of Abyſſinia, the country of Shepherds, from *Berber*, Shepherd.

" or Azab) ſhall riſe up in the judgment with this genera-
" tion, and ſhall condemn it; for ſhe came from the utter-
" moſt parts of the earth to hear the wiſdom of Solomon;
" and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here*." No other particulars, however, are mentioned about her in ſcripture; and it is not probable our Saviour would ſay ſhe came from the uttermoſt parts of the earth, if ſhe had been an Arab, and had near 50° of the Continent behind her. The gold, the myrrh, caſſia, and frankincenſe, were all the produce of her own country; and the many reaſons Pineda † gives to ſhew ſhe was an Arab, more than convince me that ſhe was an Ethiopian or Cuſhite ſhepherd.

A STRONG objection to her being an Arab, is, that the Sabean Arabs, or Homerites, the people that lived oppoſite to Azab on the Arabian ſhore, had kings inſtead of queens, which latter the Shepherds had, and ſtill have. Moreover, the kings of the Homerites were never ſeen abroad, and were ſtoned to death if they appeared in public; ſubjects of this ſtamp would not very readily ſuffer their queen to go to Jeruſalem, even ſuppoſing they had a queen, which they had not.

WHETHER ſhe was a Jeweſs or a Pagan is uncertain; Sabaiſm was the religion of all the Eaſt. It was the conſtant attendant and ſtumbling-block of the Jews; but conſidering the multitude of that people then trading from Jeruſalem, and the long time it continued, it is not improbable ſhe was

* Matth. chap. xii. ver. 42. Luke xi. 31.

† Pin. de reb. Solomon, lib. iv. cap. 14th.—Joſephus thinks ſhe was an Ethiopian, ſo do Origen, Auguſtin, and St Anſelmo.

a Jewefs. "And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame "of Solomon concerning the name of the Lord, fhe came "to prove him with hard queftions*." Our Saviour, moreover, fpeaks of her with praife, pointing her out as an example to the Jews †. And, in her thankfgiving before Solomon, fhe alludes to *God's bleffing* on the *feed* of Ifrael for ever‡, which is by no means the language of a Pagan, but of a perfon fkilled in the ancient hiftory of the Jews.

She likewife appears to have been a perfon of learning, and that fort of learning which was then almoft peculiar to Paleftine, not to Ethiopia. For we fee that one of the reafons of her coming, was to examine whether Solomon was really the learned man he was faid to be. She came to try him in allegories, or parables, in which Nathan had inftructed Solomon.

The learning of the Eaft, and of the neighbouring kings that correfponded with each other, efpecially in Paleftine and Syria, confifted chiefly in thefe: "And Joafh king of "Ifrael fent to Amaziah king of Judah, faying, The thiftle "that was in Lebanon fent to the Cedar that was in Leba-"non, faying, Give thy daughter to my fon to wife: and "there paffed by a wild beaft that was in Lebanon, and "trode down the thiftle."—"Thou fayeft, Lo, thou haft "fmitten

* 1 Kings, chap. x. ver 1. and 2 Chron. chap. ix. ver. 1.

† Matt. chap. xii. ver. 43. and Luke, chap xi. ver. 31.

‡ 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 9. and 2 Chron. chap. ix. ver 8.

" ſmitten the Edomites, and thine heart lifteth thee up to " boaſt: abide now at home, why ſhouldeſt thou meddle " to thine hurt, that thou ſhouldeſt fall, even thou, and Ju- " dah with thee *?"

The annals of Abyſſinia, being very full upon this point, have taken a middle opinion, and by no means an improbable one. They ſay ſhe was a Pagan when ſhe left Azab, but being full of admiration at the ſight of Solomon's works, ſhe was converted to Judaiſm in Jeruſalem, and bore him a ſon, whom ſhe called Menilek, and who was their firſt king. However ſtrongly they aſſert this, and however dangerous it would be to doubt it in Abyſſinia, I will not here aver it for truth, nor much leſs ſtill will I poſitively contradict it, as ſcripture has ſaid nothing about it. I ſuppoſe, whether true or not, in the circumſtances ſhe was, whilſt Solomon alſo, ſo far from being very nice in his choice, was particularly addicted to Idumeans †, and other ſtrange women, he could not more naturally engage himſelf in any amour than in one with the queen of Saba, with whom he had ſo long entertained the moſt lucrative connections, and moſt perfect friendſhip, and who, on her part, by ſo long a journey, had ſurely made ſufficient advances.

The Abyſſinians, both Jews and Chriſtians, believe the xlvth pſalm to be a prophecy of this queen's voyage to Jeruſalem; that ſhe was attended by a daughter of Hiram's from Tyre to Jeruſalem, and that the laſt part contains a declaration

* 2 Chron. chap. xxv. ver. 18. 19.

† 1 Kings, chap. xi. ver. 1.

ration of her having a ſon by Solomon, who was to be king over a nation of Gentiles.

To Saba, or Azab, then, ſhe returned with her ſon Menilek, whom, after keeping him ſome years, ſhe ſent back to his father to be inſtructed. Solomon did not neglect his charge, and he was anointed and crowned king of Ethiopia, in the temple of Jeruſalem, and at his inauguration took the name of David. After this he returned to Azab, and brought with him a colony of Jews, among whom were many doctors of the law of Moſes, particularly one of each tribe, to make judges in his kingdom, from whom the preſent Umbares (or Supreme Judges, three of whom always attend the king) are ſaid and believed to be deſcended. With theſe came alſo Azarias, the ſon of Zadok the prieſt, and brought with him a Hebrew tranſcript of the law, which was delivered into his cuſtody, as he bore the title of Nebrit, or High Prieſt; and this charge, though the book itſelf was burnt with the church of Axum in the Mooriſh war of Adel, is ſtill continued, as it is ſaid, in the lineage of Azarias, who are Nebrits, or keepers of the church of Axum, at this day. All Abyſſinia was thereupon converted, and the government of the church and ſtate modelled according to what was then in uſe at Jeruſalem.

By the laſt act of the queen of Saba's reign, ſhe ſettled the mode of ſucceſſion in her country for the future. Firſt, ſhe enacted, that the crown ſhould be hereditary in the family of Solomon for ever. Secondly, that, after her, no woman ſhould be capable of wearing that crown or being queen, but that it ſhould deſcend to the heir

heir male, however diſtant, in excluſion of all heirs female whatever, however near; and that theſe two articles ſhould be conſidered as the fundamental laws of the kingdom, never to be altered or aboliſhed. And, laſtly, That the heirs male of the royal houſe, ſhould always be ſent priſoners to a high mountain, where they were to continue till their death, or till the ſucceſſion ſhould open to them.

What was the reaſon of this laſt regulation is not known, it being peculiar to Abyſſinia, but the cuſtom of having women for ſovereigns, which was a very old one, prevailed among the neighbouring ſhepherds in the laſt century, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory, and, for what we know, prevails to this day. It obtained in Nubia till Auguſtus's time, when Petreius, his lieutenant in Egypt, ſubdued her country, and took the queen Candace priſoner. It endured alſo after Tiberius, as we learn from St Philip's baptiſing the eunuch* ſervant of queen Candace, who muſt have been ſucceſſor to the former; for ſhe, when taken priſoner by Petreius, is repreſented as an infirm woman, having but one eye †. Candace indeed was the name of all the ſovereigns, in the ſame manner Cæſar was of the Roman emperors. As for the laſt ſevere part, the puniſhment of the princes, it was probably intended to prevent ſome diſorders among the princes of her houſe, that ſhe had obſerved frequently to happen in the houſe of David ‡ at Jeruſalem.

The

* Acts, chap. viii. ver. 27 and 38. † This ſhews the falſehood of the remark Strabo makes, that it was a cuſtom in Meroë, if their ſovereign was any way mutilated, for the ſubjects to imitate the imperfection. In this caſe, Candace's ſubjects would have all loſt an eye. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 777, 778.

‡ 2 Sam. chap. xvi. ver. 22. 1 Kings, chap. ii. ver. 13.

The queen of Saba having made theſe laws irrevocable to all her poſterity, died, after a long reign of forty years, in 986 before Chriſt, placing her ſon Menilek upon the throne, whoſe poſterity, the annals of Abyſſinia would teach us to believe, have ever ſince reigned. So far we muſt indeed bear witneſs to them, that this is no new doctrine, but has been ſtedfaſtly and uniformly maintained from their earlieſt account of time; firſt, when Jews, then in later days after they had embraced chriſtianity. We may further add, that the teſtimony of all the neighbouring nations is with them upon this ſubject, whether they be friends or enemies. They only differ in name of the queen, or in giving her two names.

This difference, at ſuch a diſtance of time, ſhould not break ſcores, eſpecially as we ſhall ſee that the queens in the preſent day have ſometimes three or four names, and all the kings three, whence has ariſen a very great confuſion in their hiſtory. And as for her being an Arab, the objection is ſtill eaſier got over. For all the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, eſpecially thoſe of the coaſt oppoſite to Saba, were reputed Abyſſins, and their country part of Abyſſinia, from the earlieſt ages, to the Mahometan conqueſt and after. They were her ſubjects; firſt, Sabean Pagans like herſelf, then converted (as the tradition ſays) to Judaiſm, during the time of the building of the temple, and continuing Jews from that time to the year 622 after Chriſt, when they became Mahometans.

I shall therefore now give a liſt of their kings of the race of Solomon, deſcended from the queen of Saba, whoſe device is a lion paſſant, proper upon a field gules, and their

motto, " *Mo Anbaſa am Nizilet Solomon am Negadè Jude* ;" which ſignifies, ' the lion of the race of Solomon and tribe of Judah hath overcome.' The Portugueſe miſſionaries, in place of a lion paſſant, which is really the king's bearing, have given him, in ſome of their publications, a lion rampant, purpoſely, as is ſuppoſed, to put a croſs into the paw of this Jewiſh lion; but he is now returned to the lion paſſant, that he was in the time of Solomon, without any ſymbol either of religion or peace in his paws.

LIST

LIST OF THE KINGS OF ABYSSINIA,

FROM

MAQUEDA, QUEEN OF SABA, TO THE NATIVITY.

	Years.		Years.
Menilek, or David I. reigned	4	Katzina reigned,	9
Hendedya, or Zagdur,	1	Wazeha,	1
Awida,	11	Hazer,	2
Aufyi,	3	Kalas,	6
Sawé,	31	Solaya,	16
Gefaya,	15	Falaya,	26
Katar,	15	Aglebu,	3
Mouta,	20	Afifena,	1
Bahas,	9	Brus,	29
Kawida,	2	Mohefa,	1
Kanaza,	10	Bazen,	16

MENILEK fucceeded to the throne in the 986th year before Chrift; and this number of years muft be exhaufted in the reign of thefe twenty-two kings, when each reign, in that cafe, will amount to more than forty-four years, which is impoffible. The reign of the twenty-one kings of Ifrael, at a medium, is a little more than twenty-two years at an average, and that is thought abundantly high. And, even upon that footing of comparifon, there will be wanting a great deal more than half the number of years between Menilek and Bazen, fo that this account is apparently falfe. But I have another very material objection to it, as well as the

preceding one, which is, that there is not one name in the whole liſt that has an Ethiopic root or derivation.

The reader will give what credit he pleaſes to this very ancient liſt. For my part, I content myſelf with diſproving nothing but what is impoſſible, or contrary to the authority of ſcripture, or my own private knowledge. There are other liſts ſtill, which I have ſeen, all of no better authority than this. I ſhall only obſerve, upon this laſt, that there is a king in it, about nine years before our Saviour's nativity, that did me the honour of uſing my name two thouſand years before it came into Britain, ſpelled in the ſame manner that name anciently was, before folly, and the love of novelty, wantonly corrupted it.

The Greeks, to divert the king, had told him this circumſtance, and he was exceedingly entertained at it. Sometimes, when he had ſeen either Michael, or Faſil *, or any of the great ones do me any favour, or ſpeak handſomely of me, he would ſay gravely, that he was to ſummon the council to inquire into my pedigree, whether I was deſcended of the heirs-male of that Brus who was king nine years before the nativity; that I was likely to be a dangerous perſon, and it was time I ſhould be ſent to Wechné, unleſs I choſe to loſe my leg or arm, if I was found, by the judges, related to him by the heirs-male. To which I anſwered, that however he made a jeſt of this, one of my predeceſſors was certainly a king, though not of Abyſſinia, not nine years before, but 1200 after our redemption; that the arms of my

* What immediately follows will be hereafter explained in the Narrative.

family were a lion like his; but, however creditable his majeſty's apprehenſions as to Abyſſinia might be to me, I could venture to aſſure him, the only connections I had the honour ever to have had *with him*, were by the *heirs-female*.

At other times, when I was exceedingly low-ſpirited, and deſpairing of ever again ſeeing Britain, he, who well knew the cauſe, uſed to ſay to the Serach Maſſery, "Prepare "the Sendick and Nagareet; let the judges be called, and "the houſehold troops appear under arms, for Brus is to be "buried: he is an Ozoro of the line of Solomon, and, for "any thing I know, may be heir to the crown. Bring like-"wiſe plenty of brandy, for they all get drunk at burials in "his country." Theſe were days of ſun-ſhine, when ſuch jeſts paſſed; there were cloudy ones enough that followed, which much more than compenſated the very tranſitory enjoyment of theſe.

Although the years laid down in the book of Axum do not preciſely agree with our account, yet they are ſo near, that we cannot doubt that the revolt of the ten tribes, and deſtruction of Rehoboam's fleet which followed, occaſioned the removal of Menilek's capital to Tigré*. But, whatever was the cauſe, Menilek did remove his court from Azab to a place near Axum, at this day called *Adega Daid*, the Houſe of David; and, at no great diſtance, is another called *Azabo*, from his ancient metropolis, where there are old remains of

* The temple which the Queen of Saba had ſeen built, and ſo richly ornamented, was plundered the 5th year of Rehoboam, by Seſac, which is 13 years before Menilek died. So this could not but have diſguſted him with the trade of his ancient habitation at Saba.

of building of ſtone and lime, a certain proof that Axum was then fallen, elſe he would have naturally gone thither immediately upon forſaking his mother's capital of Azab.

That country, round by Cape Gardefan, and ſouth towards Sofala, along the Indian Ocean, was long governed by an officer called *Baharnagaſh*, the meaning of which is, King of the Sea, or Sea Coaſt. Another officer of the ſame title was governor of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, which, from the earlieſt times, belonged to Abyſſinia, down to the Mahometan conqueſt. The king himſelf was called *Nagaſh*, or Najaſhi, ſo were the governors of ſeveral provinces, eſpecially Gojam; and great confuſion has riſen from the multitude of theſe kings. We find, for example, ſometimes three upon the throne at one time, which is exceedingly improbable in any country. We are, therefore, to ſuppoſe, that one of theſe only is king, and two of them are the Najaſhi, or Nagaſh, we have juſt deſcribed; for, as the regulation of the queen of Saba baniſhed the heirs-male to the mountain, we cannot conceive how three brothers could be upon the throne at the ſame time, as this law ſubſiſts to the preſent day. This, although it is one, is not the only reaſon of the confuſion, as I ſhall mention another in the ſequel.

As we are about to take our leave of the Jewiſh religion and government in the line of Solomon, it is here the proper place that I ſhould add what we have to ſay of the Falaſha, of whom we have already had occaſion to ſpeak, when we gave a ſpecimen of their language, among thoſe of the ſtranger nations, whom we imagine to have come originally from Paleſtine. I did not ſpare my utmoſt pains in inquiring into the hiſtory of this curious people, and li-

ved in friendſhip with ſeveral eſteemed the moſt knowing and learned among them, and I am perſuaded, as far as they knew, they told me the truth.

THE account they give of themſelves, which is ſupported only by tradition among them, is, that they came with Menilek from Jeruſalem, ſo that they agree perfectly with the Abyſſinians in the ſtory of the queen of Saba, who, they ſay, was a Jeweſs, and her nation Jews before the time of Solomon; that ſhe lived at Saba, or Azaba, the myrrh and frankincenſe country upon the Arabian Gulf. They ſay further, that ſhe went to Jeruſalem, under protection of Hiram king of Tyre, whoſe daughter is ſaid in the xlvth Pſalm to have attended her thither; that ſhe went not in ſhips, nor through Arabia, for fear of the Iſhmaelites, but from Azab round by Maſuah and Suakem, and was eſcorted by the Shepherds, her own ſubjects, to Jeruſalem, and back again, making uſe of her own country vehicle, the camel, and that her's was a white one, of prodigious ſize and exquiſite beauty.

THEY agree alſo, in every particular, with the Abyſſinians, about the remaining part of the ſtory, the birth and inauguration of Menilek, who was their firſt king; alſo the coming of Azarias, and twelve elders from the twelve tribes, and other doctors of the law, whoſe poſterity they deny to have ever apoſtatiſed to Chriſtianity, as the Abyſſinians pretend they did at the converſion. They ſay, that, when the trade of the Red Sea fell into the hands of ſtrangers, and all communication was ſhut up between them and Jeruſalem, the cities were abandoned, and the inhabitants relinquiſhed the coaſt; that they were the inhabitants of theſe cities, by trade

trade moſtly brick and tile-makers, potters, thatchers of houſes, and ſuch like mechanics, employed in them; and finding the low country of Dembea afforded materials for exerciſing theſe trades, they carried the article of pottery in that province to a degree of perfection ſcarcely to be imagined.

Being very induſtrious, theſe people multiplied exceedingly, and were very powerful at the time of the converſion to Chriſtianity, or, as they term it, the Apoſtacy under Abreha and Atzbeha. At this time they declared a prince of the tribe of Judah, and of the race of Solomon and Menilek, to be their ſovereign. The name of this prince was Phineas, who refuſed to abandon the religion of his forefathers, and from him their ſovereigns are lineally deſcended; ſo they have ſtill a prince of the houſe of Judah, although the Abyſſinians, by way of reproach, have called this family Bee Iſrael, intimating that they were rebels, and revolted from the family of Solomon and tribe of Judah, and there is little doubt, but that ſome of the ſucceſſors of Azarias adhered to their ancient faith alſo. Although there was no bloodſhed upon difference of religion, yet, each having a diſtinct king with the ſame pretenſions, many battles were fought from motives of ambition, and rivalſhip of ſovereign power.

About the year 960, an attempt was made by this family to mount the throne of Abyſſinia, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; when the princes of the houſe of Solomon were nearly extirpated upon the rock Damo. This, it is probable, produced more animoſity and bloodſhed. At laſt the power of the Falaſha was ſo much weakened, that they were obliged to leave

leave the flat country of Dembea, having no cavalry to maintain themſelves there, and to take poſſeſſion of the rugged, and almoſt inacceſſible rocks, in that high ridge called the Mountains of Samen. One of theſe, which nature ſeems to have formed for a fortreſs, they choſe for their metropolis, and it was ever after called the Jews Rock.

A GREAT overthrow, which they received in the year 1600, brought them to the very brink of ruin. In that battle Gideon and Judith, their king and queen, were ſlain. They have ſince adopted a more peaceable and dutiful behaviour, pay taxes, and are ſuffered to enjoy their own government. Their king and queen's name was again Gideon and Judith, when I was in Abyſſinia, and theſe names ſeem to be preferred for thoſe of the Royal family. At that time they were ſuppoſed to amount to 100,000 effective men. Something like this, the ſober and moſt knowing Abyſſinians are obliged to allow to be truth; but the circumſtances of the converſion from Judaiſm are probably not all before us.

THE only copy of the Old Teſtament, which they have, is in Geez, the ſame made uſe of by the Abyſſinian Chriſtians, who are the only ſcribes, and ſell theſe copies to the Jews; and, it is very ſingular that no controverſy, or diſpute about the text, has ever yet ariſen between the profeſſors of the two religions. They have no keriketib, or various readings; they never heard of talmud, targum, or cabala: Neither have they any *fringes* or ribband* upon their *garments*, nor is there, as far as I could learn, one ſcribe among them.

* Numb. chap. xv. ver. 38, 39. Deut. chap. 22. ver. 12.

I ASKED them, being from Judea, whence they got that language which they ſpoke, whether it was one of the languages of the nations which they had learned on the coaſt of the Red Sea. They apprehended, but it was mere conjecture, that the language which they ſpoke was that of thoſe nations they had found on the Red Sea, after their leaving Judea and ſettling there; and the reaſon they gave was certainly a pertinent one; that they came into Abyſſinia, ſpeaking Hebrew, with the advantage of having books in that language; but they had now forgot their Hebrew*, and it was therefore not probable they ſhould retain any other language in which they had no books, and which they never had learned to expreſs by letters.

I ASKED them, ſince they came from Jeruſalem, how it happened they had not Hebrew, or Samaritan copies of the law, at leaſt the Pentateuch or Octateuch. They ſaid they were in poſſeſſion of both when they came from Jeruſalem; but their fleet being deſtroyed, in the reign of Rehoboam, and communication becoming very uncertain by the Syrian wars, they were, from neceſſity, obliged to have the ſcriptures tranſlated, or make uſe of the copies in the hands of the Shepherds, who, according to them, before Solomon's time, were all Jews.

I ASKED them where the Shepherds got their copy, becauſe, notwithſtanding the invaſion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, who was the foreign obſtacle the longeſt in their way,

* We ſee this happened to them in a much ſhorter time during the captivity, when they forgot their Hebrew, and ſpoke Chaldaec ever after.

way, the Iſhmaelite Arabs had acceſs through Arabia to Jeruſalem and Syria, and carried on a great trade thither by land. They profeſſed very candidly they could not give a ſatisfactory anſwer to that, as the time was very diſtant, and war had deſtroyed all the memorials of theſe tranſactions. I aſked if they really ever had any memorials of their own country, or hiſtory of any other. They anſwered, with ſome heſitation, they had no reaſon to ſay they ever had any; if they had, they were all deſtroyed in the war with Gragné. This is all that I could ever learn from this people, and it required great patience and prudence in making the interrogations, and ſeparating truth from falſehood; for many of them, (as is invariably the caſe with barbarians) if they once divine the reaſon of your inquiry, will ſay whatever they think will pleaſe you.

They deny the ſceptre has ever departed from Judah, as they have a prince of that houſe reigning, and underſtand the prophecy of the gathering of the Gentiles at the coming of Shiloh, is to be fulfilled on the appearance of the Meſſiah, who is not yet come, when all the inhabitants of the world are to be Jews. But I muſt confeſs they did not give an explanation of this either clearly or readily, or ſeem to have ever conſidered it before. They were not at all heated by the ſubject, nor intereſted, as far as I could diſcern, in the difference between us, nor fond of talking upon their religion at all, though very ready at all quotations, when a perſon was preſent who ſpoke Amharic, with the barbarous accent that they do; and this makes me conceive that their anceſtors were not in Paleſtine, or preſent in thoſe diſputes or tranſactions that attended the death of our Saviour, and have ſubſiſted ever after. They pretend that the book of

Enoch was the firſt book of ſcripture they ever received. They knew nothing of that of Seth, but place Job immediately after Enoch, ſo that they have no idea of the time in which Job lived, but ſaid they believed it to be ſoon after the flood; and they look upon the book bearing his name to be the performance of that prophet.

Many difficulties occur from this account of the Falaſha; for, though they ſay they came from Jeruſalem in the time of Solomon, and from different tribes, yet there is but one language amongſt them all, and that is not Hebrew or Samaritan, neither of which they read or underſtand; nor is their anſwer to this objection ſatisfactory, for very obvious reaſons.

Ludolf, the moſt learned man that has writ upon the ſubject, ſays, that it is apparent the Ethiopic Old Teſtament, at leaſt the Pentateuch, was copied from the Septuagint, becauſe of the many Greciſms to be found in it; and the names of birds and precious ſtones, and ſome other paſſages that appear literally to be tranſlated from the Greek. He imagines alſo, that the preſent Abyſſinian verſion is the work of Frumentius their firſt biſhop, when Abyſſinia was converted to Chriſtianity under Abreha and Atzbeha, about the year 333 after Chriſt, or a few years later.

Although I brought with me all the Abyſſinian books of the Old Teſtament, (if it is a tranſlation) I have not yet had time to make the compariſon here alluded to, but have left them, for the curioſity of the public, depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum, hoping that ſome man of learning or curioſity would do this for me. In the mean time I muſt obſerve,

that it is much more natural to ſuppoſe that the Greeks, comparing the copies together, expunged the words or paſſages they found differing from the Septuagint, and replaced them from thence, as this would not offend the Jews, who very well knew that thoſe who tranſlated the Septuagint verſion were all Jews themſelves.

Now, as the Abyſſinian copy of the Holy Scriptures, in Mr Ludolf's opinion, was tranſlated by Frumentius above 330 after Chriſt, and the Septuagint verſion, in the days of Philadelphus, or Ptolemy II. above 160 years before Chriſt, it will follow, that, if the preſent Jews uſe the copy tranſlated by Frumentius, and, if that was taken from the Septuagint, the Jews muſt have been above 400 years without any books whatſoever at the time of the converſion by Frumentius: So they muſt have had all the Jewiſh law, which is in perfect vigour and force among them, all their Levitical obſervances, their purifications, atonements, abſtinences, and ſacrifices, all depending upon their memory, without writing, at leaſt for that long ſpace of 400 years.

This, though not abſolutely impoſſible, is ſurely very nearly ſo. We know, that, at Jeruſalem itſelf, the ſeat of Jewiſh law and learning, idolatry happening to prevail, during the ſhort reigns of only four kings, the law, in that interval, became ſo perfectly forgotten and unknown, that a copy of it being accidentally found and read by Joſiah, that prince, upon his firſt learning its contents, was ſo aſtoniſhed at the deviations from it, that he apprehended the immediate deſtruction of the whole city and people. To this I ſhall only add, that whoever conſiders the ſtiff-neckedneſs, ſtubbornneſs, and obſtinacy, which were ever the cha-

racters of this Jewiſh nation, they will not eaſily believe that they did ever *willingly* "receive the *Old* Teſtament from a "people who were the avowed champions of the *New*."

They have, indeed, no knowledge of the New Teſtament but from converſation; and do not curſe it, but treat it as a folly where it ſuppoſes the Meſſiah come, who, they ſeem to think, is to be a temporal prince, prophet, prieſt, and conqueror.

Still, it is not probable that a Jew would receive the law and the prophets from a Chriſtian, without abſolute neceſſity, though they might very well receive ſuch a copy from a brother Jew, which all the Abyſſinians were, when this tranſlation was made. Nor would this, as I ſay, hinder them from following a copy really made by Jews from the text itſelf, ſuch as the Septuagint actually was. But, I confeſs, great difficulties occur on every ſide, and I deſpair of having them ſolved, unleſs by an able, deliberate analyſis of the ſpecimen of the Falaſha language which I have preſerved, in which I earneſtly requeſt the concurrence of the learned. A book of the length of the Canticles contains words enough to judge upon the queſtion, Whence the Falaſha came, and what is the probable cauſe they had not a tranſlation in their own tongue, ſince a verſion became neceſſary?

I have leſs doubt that Frumentius tranſlated the New Teſtament, as he muſt have had aſſiſtance from thoſe of his own communion in Egypt; and this is a further reaſon why I believe that, at his coming, he found the Old Teſtament already tranſlated into the Ethiopic language and character, becauſe Bagla, or Geez, was an unknown letter, and

the language unknown, not only to him, but likewiſe to every province in Abyſſinia, except Tigré; ſo that it would have coſt him no more pains to teach the nation the Greek character and Greek language, than to have tranſlated the New Teſtament into Ethiopic, uſing the Geez character, which was equally unknown, unleſs in Tigré. The ſaving of time and labour would have been very material to him; he would have uſed the whole ſcriptures, as received in his own church, and the Greek letter and language would have been juſt as eaſily attained in Amhara as the Geez; and thoſe people, even of the province of Tigré, that had not yet learned to read, would have written the Greek character as eaſily as their own. I do not know that ſo early there was any Arabic tranſlation of the Old Teſtament; if there was, the ſame reaſons would have militated for his preferring this; and ſtill he had but the New Teſtament to undertake. But having found the books of the Old Teſtament already tranſlated into Geez, this altered the caſe; and he, very properly, continued the goſpel in that language and letter alſo, that it might be a teſtimony for the Chriſtians, and againſt the Jews, as it was intended.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Books in Uſe in Abyſſinia—Enoch—Abyſſinia not converted by the Apoſtles—Converſion from Judaiſm to Chriſtianity by Frumentius.

THE Abyſſinians have the whole ſcriptures entire as we have, and count the ſame number of books; but they divide them in another manner, at leaſt in private hands, few of them, from extreme poverty, being able to purchaſe the whole, either of the hiſtorical or prophetical books of the Old Teſtament. The ſame may be ſaid of the New, for copies containing the whole of it are very ſcarce. Indeed no where, unleſs in churches, do you ſee more than the Goſpels, or the Acts of the Apoſtles, in one perſon's poſſeſſion, and it muſt not be an ordinary man that poſſeſſes even theſe.

MANY books of the Old Teſtament are forgot, ſo that it is the ſame trouble to procure them, even in churches, for the purpoſe of copying, as to conſult old records long covered with duſt and rubbiſh. The Revelation of St John is a piece of favourite reading among them. Its title is, *the Viſion of John Abou Kalamſis*, which ſeems to me to be a corruption of *Apocalypſis*.

lypſis. At the ſame time, we can hardly imagine that Frumentius, a Greek and a man of letters, ſhould make ſo ſtrange a miſtake. There is no ſuch thing as diſtinctions between canonical and apocryphal books. Bell and the Dragon, and the Acts of the Apoſtles, are read with equal devotion, and, for the moſt part, I am afraid, with equal edification; and it is in the ſpirit of truth, and not of ridicule, that I ſay St George and his Dragon, from idle legends only, are objects of veneration, nearly as great as any of the heroes in the Old Teſtament, or ſaints in the New. The Song of Solomon is a favourite piece of reading among the old prieſts, but forbidden to the young ones, to the deacons, laymen, and women. The Abyſſinians believe, that this ſong was made by Solomon in praiſe of Pharaoh's daughter; and do not think, as ſome of our divines are diſpoſed to do, that there is in it any myſtery or allegory reſpecting Chriſt and the church. It may be aſked, Why did I chooſe to have this book tranſlated, ſeeing that it was to be attended with this particular difficulty? To this I anſwer, The choice was not mine, nor did I at once know all the difficulty. The firſt I pitched upon was the book of Ruth, as being the ſhorteſt; but the ſubject did not pleaſe the ſcribes and prieſts who were to copy for me, and I found it would not do. They then choſe the Song of Solomon, and engaged to go through with it; and I recommended it to two or three young ſcribes, who completed the copy by themſelves and their friends. I was obliged to procure licence for theſe ſcribes whom I employed in tranſlating it into the different languages; but it was a permiſſion of courſe, and met with no real, though ſome pretended difficulty.

A NEPHEW

A NEPHEW of Abba Salama*, the Acab Saat, a young man of no common genius, aſked leave from his uncle before he began the tranſlation; to which Salama anſwered, alluding to an old law, That, if he attempted ſuch a thing, he ſhould be killed as they do ſheep; but, if I would give *him* the money, he would permit it. I ſhould not have taken any notice of this; but ſome of the young men having told it to Ras Michael †, who perfectly gueſſed the matter, he called upon the ſcribe, and aſked what his uncle had ſaid to him, who told him very plainly, that, if he began the tranſlation, his throat ſhould be cut like that of a ſheep. One day Michael aſked Abba Salama, whether that was true; he anſwered in the affirmative, and ſeemed diſpoſed to be talkative. "Then," ſaid the Ras to the young man, "your uncle de-"clares, if you write the book for Yagoube, he ſhall cut "your throat like a ſheep; and I ſay to you, I ſwear by St "Michael, I will put you to death like an aſs if you don't "write it; conſider with yourſelf which of the riſks you'll "run, and come to me in eight days, and make your choice." But, before the eighth day, he brought me the book, very well pleaſed at having an excuſe for receiving the price of the copy. Abba Salama complained of this at another time when I was preſent, and the name of *frank* was invidiouſly mentioned; but he only got a ſtern look and word from the Ras: "Hold your tongue, Sir, you don't know what you ſay; you "don't know that you are a fool, Sir, but I do; if you talk "much you will publiſh it to all the world."

AFTER

* I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak much of this prieſt in the ſequel. He was a moſt inveterate and dangerous enemy to all Europeans, the principal eccleſiaſtical officer in the king's houſe.

† Then Prime Miniſter, concerning whom much is to be ſaid hereafter.

After the New Teſtament they place the conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, which they call *Synnodos*, which, as far as the caſes or doctrines apply, we may ſay is the written law of the country. Theſe were tranſlated out of the Arabic. They have next a general liturgy, or book of common prayer, beſides ſeveral others peculiar to certain feſtivals, under whoſe names they go. The next is a very large voluminous book, called *Haimanout Abou*, chiefly a collection from the works of different Greek fathers, treating of, or explaining ſeveral hereſies, or diſputed points of faith, in the ancient Greek Church. Tranſlations of the works of St Athanaſius, St Bazil, St John Chryſoſtome, and St Cyril, are likewiſe current among them. The two laſt I never ſaw; and only fragments of St Athanaſius; but they are certainly extant.

The next is the Synaxar, or the Flos Sanctorum, in which the miracles and lives, or lies of their ſaints, are at large recorded, in four monſtrous volumes in folio, ſtuffed full of fables of the moſt incredible kind. They have a ſaint that wreſtled with the devil in ſhape of a ſerpent nine miles long, threw him from a mountain, and killed him. Another ſaint who converted the devil, who turned monk, and lived in great holineſs for forty years after his converſion, doing penance for having tempted our Saviour upon the mountain: what became of him after they do not ſay. Again, another ſaint, that never ate nor drank from his mother's womb, went to Jeruſalem, and ſaid maſs every day at the holy ſepulchre, and came home at night in the ſhape of a ſtork. The laſt I ſhall mention was a ſaint, who, being very ſick, and his ſtomach in diſorder, took a longing for partridges; he called upon a brace of them to come to him,

and immediately two roaſted partridges came *flying*, and reſted upon his plate, to be devoured. Theſe ſtories are circumſtantially told and vouched by unexceptionable people, and were a grievous ſtumbling-block to the Jeſuits, who could not pretend their own miracles were either better eſtabliſhed, or more worthy of belief.

THERE are other books of leſs ſize and conſequence, particularly the Organon Denghel, or the Virgin Mary's Muſical Inſtrument, compoſed by Abba George about the year 1440, much valued for the purity of its language, though he himſelf was an Armenian. The laſt of this Ethiopic library is the book of Enoch *. Upon hearing this book firſt mentioned, many literati in Europe had a wonderful deſire to ſee it, thinking that, no doubt, many ſecrets and unknown hiſtories might be drawn from it. Upon this ſome impoſtor, getting an Ethiopic book into his hands, wrote for the title, *The Prophecies of Enoch*, upon the front page of it. M. Pieriſc † no ſooner heard of it than he purchaſed it of the impoſtor for a conſiderable ſum of money: being placed afterwards in Cardinal Mazarine's library, where Mr Ludolf had acceſs to it, he found it was a Gnoſtic book upon myſteries in heaven and earth, but which mentioned not a word of Enoch, or his prophecy, from beginning to end; and, from this diſappointment, he takes upon him to deny the exiſtence of any ſuch book any where elſe. This, however, is a miſtake; for, as a public return for the many obligations I had received from every rank of that moſt

* Vid. Origen contra Celſum, lib. 5. Tertull. de Idolol. c. 4. Drus in ſuo Enoch. Bangius in Cœlo Orientis Exercit: 1. quæſt. 5. and 6.

† Gaſſend in vita Pieriſc, lib. 5.

humane, polite, and ſcientific nation, and more eſpecially from the ſovereign Louis XV. I gave to his cabinet a part of every thing curious I had collected abroad; which was received with that degree of conſideration and attention that cannot fail to determine every traveller of a liberal mind to follow my example.

Amongst the articles I conſigned to the library at Paris, was a very beautiful and magnificent copy of the prophecies of Enoch, in large quarto; another is amongſt the books of ſcripture which I brought home, ſtanding immediately before the book of Job, which is its proper place in the Abyſſinian canon; and a third copy I have preſented to the Bodleian library at Oxford, by the hands of Dr Douglas the Biſhop of Carliſle. The more ancient hiſtory of that book is well known. The church at firſt looked upon it as apocryphal; and as it was quoted in the book of Jude, the ſame ſuſpicion fell upon that book alſo. For this reaſon, the council of Nice threw the epiſtle of Jude out of the canon, but the council of Trent arguing better, replaced the apoſtle in the canon as before.

Here we may obſerve by the way, that Jude's appealing to the apocryphal books did by no means import, that either he believed or warranted the truth of them. But it was an argument, *a fortiori*, which our Saviour himſelf often makes uſe of, and amounts to no more than this, You, ſays he to the Jews, deny certain facts, which muſt be from prejudice, becauſe you have them allowed in your own books, and believe them there. And a very ſtrong and fair way of arguing it is, but this is by no means any allowance that they are true. In the ſame manner, You, ſays Jude, do not be-

lieve the coming of Chriſt and a latter judgment; yet your ancient Enoch, whom you ſuppoſe was the ſeventh from Adam, tells you this plainly, and in ſo many words, long ago. And indeed the quotation is, word for word the ſame, in the ſecond chapter of the book.

All that is material to ſay further concerning the book of Enoch is, that it is a Gnoſtic book, containing the age of the Emims, Anakims, and Egregores, ſuppoſed deſcendents of the ſons of God, when they fell in love with the daughters of men, and had ſons who were giants. Theſe giants do not ſeem to have been ſo charitable to the ſons and daughters of men, as their fathers had been. For, firſt, they began to eat all the beaſts of the earth, they then fell upon the birds and fiſhes, and ate them alſo; their hunger being not yet ſatisfied, they ate all the corn, all men's labour, all the trees and buſhes, and, not content yet, they fell to eating the men themſelves. The men (like our modern ſailors with the ſavages) were not afraid of dying, but very much ſo of being eaten after death. At length they cry to God againſt the wrongs the giants had done them, and God ſends a flood which drowns both them and the giants.

Such is the reparation which this ingenious author has thought proper to attribute to Providence, in anſwer to the firſt, and the beſt-founded complaints that were made to him by man. I think this exhauſts about four or five of the firſt chapters. It is not the fourth part of the book; but my curioſity led me no further. The cataſtrophe of the giants, and the juſtice of the cataſtrophe, had fully ſatisfied me.

I CANNOT but recollect, that when it was known in England that I had preſented this book to the library of the King of France, without ſtaying a few days, to give me time to reach London, when our learned countrymen might have had an opportunity of peruſing at leiſure another copy of this book, Doctor Woide ſet out for Paris, with letters from the Secretary of State to Lord Stormont, Ambaſſador at that court, deſiring him to aſſiſt the doctor in procuring acceſs to my preſent, by permiſſion from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. This he accordingly obtained, and a tranſlation of the work was brought over; but, I know not why, it has no where appeared. I fancy Dr Woide was not much more pleaſed with the conduct of the giants than I was.

I SHALL conclude with one particular, which is a curious one: The Synaxar (what the Catholics call their Flos Sanctorum, or the lives and miracles of their ſaints), giving the hiſtory of the Abyſſinian converſion to Chriſtianity in the year 333, ſays, that when Frumentius and Œdeſius were introduced to the king, who was a minor, they found him reading the Pſalms of David.

THIS book, or that of Enoch, does by no means prove that they were at that time Jews. For theſe two were in as great authority among the Pagans, who profeſſed Sabaiſm, the firſt religion of the Eaſt, and eſpecially of the *Shepherds*, as among the Jews. Theſe being continued alſo in the ſame letter and character among the Abyſſinians from the beginning, convinces me that there has not been any other writing in this country, or the ſouth of Arabia, ſince that which roſe from the Hieroglyphics.

The Abyſſinian hiſtory begins now to rid itſelf of part of that confuſion which is almoſt a conſtant attendant upon the very few annals yet preſerved of barbarous nations in very ancient times. It is certain, from their hiſtory, that Bazen was contemporary with Auguſtus, that he reigned ſixteen years, and that the birth of our Saviour fell on the 8th year of that prince, ſo that the 8th year of Bazen was the firſt of Chriſt.

Amha Yasous, prince of Shoa, a province to which the ſmall remains of the line of Solomon fled upon a cataſtrophe, I ſhall have occaſion to mention, gave me the following liſt of the kings of Abyſſinia ſince the time of which we are now ſpeaking. From him I procured all the books of the Annals of Abyſſinia, which have ſerved me to compoſe this hiſtory, excepting two, one given me by the King, the other the Chronicle of Axum, by Ras Michael Governor of Tigré.

SHOA

SHOA LIST OF PRINCES.

Bazen,	Araad,
Tzenaf Segued,	Saladoba,
Garima Asferi,	Alamida,
Saraada,	Tezhana,
Tzion,	Caleb, 522,
Sargai,	Guebra Maſcal,
Bagamai,	Conſtantine,
Jan Segued,	Bazzer,
Tzion Heges,	Azbeha,
Moal Genha,	Armaha,
Saif Araad,	Jan Asfeha,
Agedar,	Jan Segued,
Abreha and Atzbeha, 333,	Fere Sanai,
Asfeha,	Aderaaz,
Arphad and Amzi,	Aizor,

Del Naad, 960*.

THIS liſt is kept in the monaſtery of Debra Libanos in Shoa; the Abyſſinians receive it without any ſort of doubt, though to me it ſeems very exceptionable: If it were genuine, it would put this monarchy in a very reſpectable light in point of antiquity.

GREAT confuſion has ariſen in theſe old liſts, from their kings having always two, and ſometimes three names. The

* The length of theſe princes reigns are ſo great as to become incredible; but, as we have nothing further of their hiſtory but their names, we have no data upon which to reform them.

The firſt is their chriſtened name, their ſecond a nick, or bye-name, and the third they take upon their inauguration. There is, likewiſe, another cauſe of miſtake, which is, when two names occur, one of a king, the other the quality of a king only, theſe are ſet down as two brothers. For example, Atzbeha is the *bleſſed*, or *the ſaint*; and I very much ſuſpect, therefore, that Atzbeha and Abreha, ſaid to be two brothers, only mean Abraham the *bleſſed*, or *the ſaint*; becauſe, in that prince's time, the country was converted to Chriſtianity; Caleb * and Eleſbaas, were long thought to be contemporary princes, till it was found out, by inſpecting the ancient authors of thoſe times, that this was only the name or quality of *bleſſed*, or *ſaint*, given to Caleb, in conſequence of his expedition into Arabia againſt Phineas king of the Jews, and perſecutor of the Chriſtians.

THERE are four very intereſting events, in the courſe of the reign of theſe princes. The firſt and greateſt we have already mentioned, the birth of Chriſt in the 8th year of Bazen. The ſecond is the converſion of Abyſſinia to Chriſtianity, in the reign of Abreha and Atzbeha, in the year of Chriſt 333, according to our account. The third the war with the Jews under Caleb. The fourth, the maſſacre of the princes on the mountain of Damo. The time and circumſtances of all theſe are well known, and I ſhall relate them in their turn with the brevity becoming a hiſtorian.

SOME eccleſiaſtical* writers, rather from attachment to particular ſyſtems, than from any conviction that the opinion they

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* Caleb el Atſbeha, which has been made Eleſbaas throwing away the t.

† Surius Tom. 5. d. 24. Oct. Card. Baronius. Tom. 7. Annal. A. C. 522. N. 23.

they eſpouſe is truth, would perſuade us, that the converſion of Abyſſinia to Chriſtianity happened at the beginning of this period, that is, ſoon after the reign of Bazen; others, that Saint Matthias, or Saint Bartholomew, or ſome others of the Apoſtles, after their miſſion to teach the nations, firſt preached here the faith of Chriſt, and converted this people to it. It is alſo ſaid, that the eunuch baptized by Philip, upon his return to Candace, became the Apoſtle of that nation, which, from his preaching, believed in Chriſt and his goſpel. All theſe might paſs for dreams not worthy of examination, if they were not invented for particular purpoſes.

Till the death of Chriſt, who lived ſeveral years after Bazen, very few Jews had been converted even in Judea. We have no account in ſcripture that induces us to believe, that the Apoſtles went to any great diſtance from each other immediately after the crucifixion. Nay, we know poſitively, they did not, but lived in community together for a conſiderable time. Beſides, it is not probable, if the Abyſſinians were converted by any of the Apoſtles, that, for the ſpace of 300 years, they ſhould remain without biſhops, and without church-government, in the neighbourhood of many ſtates, where churches were already formed, without calling to their aſſiſtance ſome members of theſe churches, who might, at leaſt, inform them of the purport of the councils held, and canons made by them, during that ſpace of 300 years; for this was abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve orthodoxy, and the communion between this, and the churches of that time. And it ſhould be obſerved, that if, in Philip's time, the Chriſtian religion had not penetrated (as we ſee in effect it had not) into the court of Candace, ſo much nearer Egypt, it did not ſurely reach ſo early into the more

more diſtant mountainous country of Abyſſinia; and if the Ethiopia, where Candace reigned, was the ſame as Abyſſinia, the ſtory of the queen of Saba muſt be given up as a falſehood; for, in that caſe, there would be a woman ſitting upon the throne of that country 500 years after ſhe was excluded by a ſolemn deliberate fundamental law of the land.

But it is known, from credible writers, engaged in no controverſy, that this Candace reigned upon the Nile in Atbara, much nearer Egypt. Her capital alſo was taken in the time of Auguſtus, a few years before the Converſion, by Philip; and we ſhall have occaſion often to mention her ſucceſſors and her kingdom, as exiſting in the reign of the Abyſſinian kings, long after the Mahometan conqueſt; they exiſted when I paſſed through Atbara, and do undoubtedly exiſt there to this day. What puts an end to all this argument is a matter of fact, which is, that the Abyſſinians continued Jews and Pagans, and were found to be ſo above 300 years after the time of the Apoſtles. Inſtead, therefore, of taking the firſt of this liſt (Bazen) for the prince under whom Abyſſinia was converted from Judaiſm, as authors have advanced, in conformity to the Abyſſinian annals, we ſhall fix upon the 13th (Abreha and Atzbeha, whom we believe to be but one prince) and, before we enter into the narrative of that remarkable event, we ſhall obſerve, that, from Bazen to Abreha, being 341 years incluſive, the eighth of Bazen being the firſt of Chriſt, by this account of the converſion, which happened under Abreha and Atzbeha, it muſt have been about 333 years after Chriſt, or 341 after Bazen.

But we certainly know, that the firſt biſhop, ordained for the converſion of Abyſſinia, was ſent from Alexandria by

St Athanaſius, who was himſelf ordained to that See about the year 326. Therefore, any account, prior to this ordination and converſion, muſt be falſe, and this converſion and ordination muſt have therefore happened about the year 330, or poſſibly ſome few years later; for Socrates* ſays, that St Athanaſius himſelf was then but newly elected to the See of Alexandria.

In order to clear our way of difficulties, before we begin the narrative of the converſion, we ſhall obſerve, in this place, the reaſon I juſt hinted at, why ſome eccleſiaſtical writers had attributed the converſion of Abyſſinia to the Apoſtles. There was found, or pretended to be found in Alexandria, a canon, of a council ſaid to be that of Nice, and this canon had never before been known, nor ever ſeen in any other place, or in any language, except the Arabic; and, from inſpection, I may add, that it is ſuch Arabic that ſcarce will convey the meaning it was intended. Indeed, if it be conſtrued according to the ſtrict rule of grammar, it will not convey any ſenſe at all. This canon regulated the precedency of the Abuna of Ethiopia in all after councils, and it places him immediately after the prelate of Seleucia. This moſt honourable antiquity was looked upon and boaſted of for their own purpoſes by the Jeſuits, as a diſcovery of infinite value to the church of Ethiopia.

I shall only make one other obſervation to obviate a difficulty which will occur in reading what is to follow. The Abyſſinian hiſtory plainly and poſitively ſays, that when Frumentius

* Ludolf, vol. 2. lib. iii. cap. 2.

Frumentius (the apoſtle of the Abyſſinians) came firſt into that country, a queen reigned, which is an abſolute contradiction to what we have already ſtated, and would ſeem to favour the ſtory of queen Candace. To this I anſwer, That though it be true that all women are excluded from the Abyſſinian throne, yet it is as true that there is a law, or cuſtom, as ſtrictly obſerved as the other, that the queen upon whoſe head the king ſhall have put the crown in his life-time, it matters not whether it be her huſband or ſon, or any other relation, that woman is regent of the kingdom, and guardian of every minor king, as long as ſhe ſhall live. Suppoſing, therefore, a queen to be crowned by her huſband, which huſband ſhould die and leave a ſon, all the brothers and uncles of that ſon would be baniſhed, and confined priſoners to the mountain, and the queen would have the care of the kingdom, and of the king, during his minority. If her ſon, moreover, was to die, and a minor ſucceed who was a collateral, or no relation to her, brought, perhaps, from the mountain, ſhe would ſtill be regent; nor does her office ceaſe but by the king's coming of age, whoſe education, cloathing, and maintenance, ſhe, in the mean time, abſolutely directs, according to her own will; nor can there be another regent during her life-time. This regent, for life, is called *Iteghè;* and this was probably the ſituation of the kingdom at the time we mention, as hiſtory informs us the king was then a minor, and conſequently his education, as well as the government of his kingdom and houſehold, were, as they appear to have been, in the queen, or *Iteghè*'s hands; of this office I ſhall ſpeak more in its proper place.

Meropius, a philoſopher at Tyre, a Greek by nation and by religion, had taken a paſſage in a ſhip on the Red Sea to India, and had with him two young men, Frumentius and Œdeſius, whom he intended to bring up to trade, after having given them a very liberal education. It happened their veſſel was caſt away on a rock upon the coaſt of Abyſſinia. Meropius, defending himſelf, was ſlain by the natives, and the two boys carried to Axum, the capital of Abyſſinia, where the Court then reſided. Though young, they ſoon began to ſhew the advantages attending a liberal education. They acquired the language very ſpeedily; and, as that country is naturally inclined to admire ſtrangers, theſe were ſoon looked upon as two prodigies. Œdeſius, probably the dulleſt of the two, was ſet over the king's houſehold and wardrobe, a place that has been filled conſtantly by a ſtranger of that nation to this very day. Frumentius was judged worthy by the queen to have the care of the young prince's education, to which he dedicated himſelf entirely.

After having inſtructed his pupil in all ſorts of learning, he ſtrongly impreſſed him with a love and veneration for the Chriſtian religion; after which he himſelf ſet out for Alexandria, where, as has been already ſaid, he found St. Athanaſius* newly elected to that See.

He related to him briefly what had paſſed in Ethiopia, and the great hopes of the converſion of that nation, if proper paſtors were ſent to inſtruct them. Athanaſius embraced that opportunity with all the earneſtneſs that became his ſtation

* Vid. Baron, tom. 4. p. 331. et alibi paſſim.

ſtation and profeſſion. He ordained Frumentius biſhop of that country, who inſtantly returned and found the young king his pupil in the ſame good diſpoſition as formerly; he embraced Chriſtianity; the greateſt part of Abyſſinia followed his example, and the church of Ethiopia continued with this biſhop in perfect unity and friendſhip till his death; and though great troubles aroſe from hereſies being propagated in the Eaſt, that church, and the fountain whence it derived its faith (Alexandria,) remained uncontaminated by any falſe doctrine.

But it was not long after this, that Arianiſm broke out under Conſtantius the Emperor, and was ſtrongly favoured by him. We have indeed a letter of St Athanaſius to that Emperor, who had applied to him to depoſe Frumentius from his See for refuſing to embrace that hereſy, or admit it into his dioceſe.

It ſhould ſeem, that this converſion of Abyſſinia was quietly conducted, and without blood; and this is the more remarkable, that it was the ſecond radical change of religion, effected in the ſame manner, and with the ſame facility and moderation. No fanatic preachers, no warm ſaints or madmen, ambitious to make or to be made martyrs, diſturbed either of theſe happy events, in this wiſe, though barbarous nation, ſo as to involve them in bloodſhed: no perſecution was the conſequence of this difference of tenets, and if wars did follow, it was from matters merely temporal.

CHAP. VIII.

War of the Elephant—First Appearance of the Small-Pox—Jews persecute the Christians in Arabia—Defeated by the Abyssinians—Mahomet pretends a divine Mission—Opinion concerning the Koran—Revolution under Judith—Restoration of the Line of Solomon from Shoa.

IN the reigns of the princes Abreha and Atzbeha, the Abyssinian annals mention an expedition to have happened into the fartheſt part of Arabia Felix, which the Arabian authors, and indeed Mahomet himſelf in the Koran calls by the name of the War of the Elephant, and the cauſe of it was this. There was a temple nearly in the middle of the peninſula of Arabia, that had been held in the greateſt veneration for about 1400 years. The Arabs ſay, that Adam, when ſhut out of paradiſe, pitched his tent on this ſpot; while Eve, from ſome accident or other I am not acquainted with, died and was buried on the ſhore of the Red Sea, at Jidda. Two days journey eaſt from this place, her grave, of green ſods about fifty yards in length, is ſhewn to this day. In this temple alſo was a black ſtone, upon which Jacob ſaw the viſion mentioned in ſcripture, of the angels deſcending, and aſcending into Heaven. It is likewiſe ſaid, with more appearance of probability, that this temple was

built by Seſoſtris, in his voyage to Arabia Felix, and that he was worſhipped there under the name of Oſiris, as he then was in every part of Egypt.

The great veneration the neighbouring nations paid to this tower, and idol, ſuggeſted the very natural thought of making the temple the market for the trade from Africa and India; the liberty of which, we may ſuppoſe, had been in ſome meaſure reſtrained, by the ſettlements which foreign nations had made on both coaſts of the Red Sea. To remedy which, they choſe this town in the heart of the country, acceſſible on all ſides, and commanded on none, calling it Becca, which ſignifies the Houſe; though Mahomet, after breaking the idol and dedicating the temple to the true God, named it Mecca, under which name it has continued, the centre or great mart of the India trade to this day.

In order to divert this trade into a channel more convenient for his preſent dominions, Abreha built a very large church or temple, in the country of the Homerites, and nearer the Indian Ocean. To encourage alſo the reſort to this place, he extended to it all the privileges, protection, and emoluments, that belonged to the Pagan temple of Mecca.

One particular tribe of Arabs, called Beni Koreiſh, had the care of the Caba, for ſo the round tower of Mecca was called. Theſe people were exceedingly alarmed at the proſpect of their temple being at once deſerted, both by its votaries and merchants, to prevent which, a party of them, in the night, entered Abreha's temple, and having firſt burned

burned what part of it could be conſumed, they polluted the part that remained, by beſmearing it over with human excrements.

This violent ſacrilege and affront was ſoon reported to Abreha, who, mounted upon a white elephant at the head of a conſiderable army, reſolved, in return, to deſtroy the temple of Mecca. With this intent, he marched through that ſtripe of low country along the ſea, called Tehama, where he met with no oppoſition, nor ſuffered any diſtreſs but from want of water; after which, at the head of his army, he ſat down before Mecca, as he ſuppoſed.

Abou Thaleb (Mahomet's grandfather, as it is thought) was then keeper of the Caba, who had intereſt with his countrymen the Beni Koreiſh to prevail upon them to make no reſiſtance, nor ſhew any ſigns of wiſhing to make a defence. He had preſented himſelf early to Abreha upon his march. There was a temple of Oſiris at Taief, which, as a rival to that of Mecca, was looked upon by the Beni Koreiſh with a jealous eye. Abreha was ſo far miſled by the intelligence given him by Abou Thaleb, that he miſtook the Temple of Taief for that of Mecca, and razed it to the foundation, after which he prepared to return home.

He was ſoon after informed of his miſtake, and not repenting of what he had already done, reſolved to deſtroy Mecca alſo. Abou Thaleb, however, had never left his ſide; by his great hoſpitality, and the plenty he procured to the Emperor's army, he ſo gained Abreha, that hearing, on inquiry, he was no mean man, but a prince of the tribe of Beni Koreiſh, noble Arabs, he obliged him to ſit in his preſence

ſence, and kept him conſtantly with him as a companion. At laſt, not knowing how to reward him ſufficiently, Abreha deſired him to aſk any thing in his power to grant, and he would ſatisfy him. Abou Thaleb, taking him at his word, wiſhed to be provided with a man, that ſhould bring back forty oxen, the ſoldiers had ſtolen from him.

Abreha, who expected that the favour he was to aſk, was to ſpare the Temple, which he had in that caſe reſolved in his mind to do, could not conceal his aſtoniſhment at ſo ſilly a requeſt, and he could not help teſtifying this to Abou Thaleb, in a manner that ſhewed it had lowered him in his eſteem. Abou Thaleb, ſmiling, replied very calmly, If that before you is the Temple of God, as I believe it is, you ſhall never deſtroy it, if it is his will that it ſhould ſtand: If it is not the Temple of God, or (which is the ſame thing) if he has ordained that you ſhould deſtroy it, I ſhall not only aſſiſt you in demoliſhing it, but ſhall help you in carrying away the laſt ſtone of it upon my ſhoulders: But as for me, I am a ſhepherd, and the care of cattle is my profeſſion; twenty of the oxen which are ſtolen are not my own, and I ſhall be put in priſon for them to-morrow; for neither you nor I can believe that this is an affair God will interfere in; and therefore I apply to you for a ſoldier who will ſeek the thief, and bring back my oxen, that my liberty be not taken from me.

Abreha had now refreſhed his army, and, from regard to his gueſt, had not touched the Temple; when, ſays the Arabian author, there appeared, coming from the ſea, a flock of birds called Ababil, having faces like lions, and each of them in his claws, holding a ſmall ſtone like a pea,

which he let fall upon Abreha's army, ſo that they all were deſtroyed. The author of the manuſcript * from which I have taken this fable, and which is alſo related by ſeveral other hiſtorians, and mentioned by Mahomet in the Koran, does not ſeem to ſwallow the ſtory implicitly. For he ſays, that there is no bird that has a face like a lion, that Abou Thaleb was a Pagan, Mahomet being not then come, and that the Chriſtians were worſhippers of the true God, the God of Mahomet; and, therefore, if any miracle was wrought here, it was a miracle of the devil, a victory in favour of Paganiſm, and deſtructive of the belief of the true God. In concluſion, he ſays, that it was at this time that the ſmall-pox and meaſles firſt broke out in Arabia, and almoſt totally deſtroyed the army of Abreha. But if the ſtone, as big as a pea, thrown by the Ababil, had killed Abreha's army to the laſt man, it does not appear how any of them could die afterwards, either by the ſmall-pox or meaſles.

All that is material, however, to us, in this fact, is, that the time of the ſiege of Mecca will be the æra of the firſt appearance of that terrible diſeaſe, the ſmall-pox, which we ſhall ſet down about the year 356; and it is highly probable, from other circumſtances, that the Abyſſinian army was the firſt victim to it.

As for the church Abreha built near the Indian Ocean, it continued free from any further inſult till the Mahometan conqueſt of Arabia Felix, when it was finally deſtroyed in the Khalifat † of Omar. This is the Abyſſinian account, and this

* El Hameeſy's Siege of Mecca. † Fetaat el Yemen.

this the Arabian hiſtory of the War of the Elephant, which I have ſtated as found in the books of the moſt credible writers of thoſe times.

But it is my duty to put the reader upon his guard, againſt adopting literally what is here ſet down, without being ſatisfied of the validity of the objection that may be made againſt the narrative in general. Abreha reigned 27 years; he was converted to Chriſtianity in 333, and died in 360; now, it is ſcarcely poſſible, in the ſhort ſpace of 27 years, that all Abyſſinia and Arabia could be converted to Chriſtianity. The converſion of the Abyſſinians is repreſented to be a work of little time, but the Arab author, Hameeſy, ſays, that even Arabia Felix was full of churches when this expedition took place, which is very improbable. And, what adds ſtill more to the improbability, is, that part of the ſtory which ſtates that Abreha converſed with Mahomet's father, or grandfather. For, ſuppoſing the expedition in 356, Mahomet's birth was in 558, ſo there will remain 202 years, by much too long a period for two lives. I do believe we muſt bring this expedition down much lower than the reign of Abreha and Atzbeha, the reaſon of which we ſhall ſee afterwards.

As early as the commencement of the African trade with Paleſtine, the Jewiſh religion had ſpread itſelf far into Arabia, but, after the deſtruction of the temple by Titus, a great increaſe both of number and wealth had made that people abſolute maſters in many parts of that peninſula. In the Neged, and as far up as Medina, petty princes, calling themſelves kings, were eſtabliſhed; who, being trained in the wars of Paleſtine, became very formidable among the pa-

cific commercial nations of Arabia, deeply ſunk into Greek degeneracy.

Phineas, a prince of that nation from Medina, having beat St Aretas, the Governor of Najiran, began to perſecute the Chriſtians by a new ſpecies of cruelty, by ordering certain furnaces, or pits full of fire, to be prepared, into which he threw as many of the inhabitants of Najiran as refuſed to renounce Chriſtianity. Among theſe was Aretas, ſo called by the Greeks, Aryat by the Arabs, and Hawaryat, which ſignifies the *evangelical*, by the Abyſſinians, together with ninety of his companions. Mahomet, in his Koran, mentions, this tyrant by the name of the Maſter of the *fiery pits*, without either condemning or praiſing the execution; only ſaying, 'the ſufferers ſhall be witneſs againſt him at the laſt day.'

Justin, the Greek Emperor, was then employed in an unſucceſsful war with the Perſians, ſo that he could not give any aſſiſtance to the afflicted Chriſtians in Arabia, but in the year 522 he ſent an embaſſy to Caleb, or Eleſbaas, king of Abyſſinia, intreating him to interfere in favour of the Chriſtians of Najiran, as he too was of the Greek church. On the Emperor's firſt requeſt, Caleb ſent orders to Abreha, Governor of Yemen, to march to the aſſiſtance of Aretas, the ſon of him who was burnt, and who was then collecting troops. Strengthened by this reinforcement, the young ſoldier did not think proper to delay the revenging his father's death, till the arrival of the Emperor; but having come up with Phineas, who was ferrying his troops over an arm of the ſea, he entirely routed them, and obliged their prince, for fear of being taken, to ſwim with his horſe to the near-

eſt

eſt ſhore. It was not long before the Emperor had croſſed the Red Sea with his army; nor had Phineas loſt any time in collecting his ſcattered forces to oppoſe him. A battle was the conſequence, in which the fortune of Caleb again prevailed.

It would appear that the part of Arabia, near Najiran, which was the ſcene of Caleb's victory, belonged to the Grecian Emperor Juſtin, becauſe Aretas applied directly to him at Conſtantinople for ſuccour; and it was at Juſtin's requeſt only, that Caleb marched to the aſſiſtance of Aretas, as a friend, but not as a ſovereign; and as ſuch alſo, Abreha, Governor of Yemen, marched to aſſiſt Aretas, with the Abyſſinian troops, from the ſouth of Arabia, againſt the ſtranger Jews, who were invaders from Paleſtine, and who had no connection with the Abyſſinian Jewiſh Homerites, natives of the ſouth coaſt of Arabia, oppoſite to Saba.

But neither of the Jewiſh kingdoms were deſtroyed by the victories of Caleb, or Abreha, nor the ſubſequent conqueſt of the Perſians. In the Neged, or north part of Arabia, they continued not only after the appearance of Mahomet, but till after the Hegira. For it was in the 8th year of that æra that Hybar, the Jew, was beſieged in his own caſtle in Neged, and ſlain by Ali, Mahomet's ſon-in-law, from that time called Hydar Ali, or Ali the Lion.

Now the Arabian manuſcripts ſays poſitively that this Abreha, who aſſiſted Aretas, was Governor of Arabia Felix, or Yemen; for, by this laſt name, I ſhall hereafter call the part of the peninſula of Arabia belonging to the Abyſſinians; ſo that he might very well have been the prince who converſed with Mahomet's father, and loſt his army before

before Mecca, which will bring down the introduction of the ſmall-pox to the year 522, juſt 100 years before the Hegira, and both Arabian and Abyſſinian accounts might be then true.

The two officers who governed Yemen, and the oppoſite coaſt Azab, which, as we have above mentioned, belonged to Abyſſinia, were ſtiled *Najaſhi*, as was the king alſo, and both of them were crowned with gold. I am, therefore, perſuaded, this is the reaſon of the confuſion of names we meet in Arabian manuſcripts, that treat of the ſovereigns of Yemen. This, moreover, is the foundation of the ſtory found in Arabic manuſcripts, that Jaffar, Mahomet's brother, fled to the Najaſhi, who was governor of Yemen, and was kindly treated by him, and kept there till he joined his brother at the campaign of Hybarea. Soon after his great victory over the Beni Koreiſh, at the laſt battle of Beder Hunein, Mahomet is ſaid to have written to the ſame Najaſhi a letter of thanks, for his kind entertainment of his brother, inviting him (as a reward) to embrace his religion, which the Najaſhi is ſuppoſed to have immediately complied with. Now, all this is in the Arabic books, and all this is true, as far as we can conjecture from the accounts of thoſe times, very partially writ by a ſet of warm-headed bigotted zealots; ſuch as all Arabic authors (hiſtorians of the time) undoubtedly are. The error only lies in the application of this ſtory to the Najaſhi, or king of Abyſſinia, ſituated far from the ſcene of theſe actions, on high cold mountains, very unfavourable to thoſe rites, which, in low flat and warm countries, have been temptations to ſlothful and inactive men to embrace the Mahometan religion.

A MOST

A MOST ſhameful proſtitution of manners prevailed in the Greek church, as alſo innumerable hereſies, which were firſt received as true tenets of their religion, but were ſoon after perſecuted in a moſt uncharitable manner, as being erroneous. Their lies, their legends, their ſaints and miracles, and, above all, the abandoned behaviour of the prieſthood, had brought their characters in Arabia almoſt as low as that of the deteſted Jew, and, had they been conſidered in their true light, they had been ſtill lower.

THE dictates of nature in the heart of the honeſt Pagan, conſtantly employed in long, lonely, and dangerous voyages, awakened him often to reflect who that Providence was that inviſibly governed him, ſupplied his wants, and often mercifully ſaved him from the deſtruction into which his own ignorance or raſhneſs were leading him. Poiſoned by no ſyſtem, perverted by no prejudice, he wiſhed to know and adore his Benefactor, with purity and ſimplicity of heart, free from theſe fopperies and follies with which ignorant prieſts and monks had diſguiſed his worſhip. Poſſeſſed of charity, ſteady in his duty to his parents, full of veneration for his ſuperiors, attentive and merciful even to his beaſts; in a word, containing in his heart the principles of the firſt religion, which God had inculcated in the heart of Noah, the Arab was already prepared to embrace a much more perfect one than what Chriſtianity, at that time, diſfigured by folly and ſuperſtition, appeared to him to be.

MAHOMET, of the tribe of Beni Koreiſh (at whoſe inſtigation is uncertain) took upon himſelf to be the apoſtle of a new religion, pretending to have, for his only object, the worſhip of the true God. Oſtenſibly full of the morality of

the Arab, of patience and ſelf-denial, ſuperior even to what is made neceſſary to ſalvation by the goſpel, his religion, at the bottom, was but a ſyſtem of blaſphemy and falſehood, corruption and injuſtice. Mahomet and his tribe were moſt profoundly ignorant. There was not among them but one man that could write, and it was not doubted he was to be Mahomet's ſecretary, but unfortunately Mahomet could not read his writing. The ſtory of the angel who brought him leaves of the Koran is well known, and ſo is all the reſt of the fable. The wiſer part of his own relations, indeed, laughed at the impudence of his pretending to have a communication with angels. Having, however, gained, as his apoſtles, ſome of the beſt ſoldiers of the tribe of Beni Koreiſh, and perſiſting with great uniformity in all his meaſures, he eſtabliſhed a new religion upon the ruins of idolatry and Sabaiſm, in the very temple of Mecca.

Nothing ſevere was injoined by Mahomet, and the frequent prayers and waſhings with water which he directed, were gratifications to a ſedentary people in a very hot country. The lightneſs of this yoke, therefore, recommended it rapidly to thoſe who were diſguſted with long faſting, penances, and pilgrimages. The poiſon of this falſe, yet not ſevere religion, ſpread itſelf from that fountain to all the trading nations: India, Ethiopia, Africa, all Aſia, ſuddenly embraced it; and every caravan carried into the boſom of its country people not more attached to trade, than zealous to preach and propagate their new faith. The Temple of Mecca (the old rendezvous of the Indian trade) perhaps was never more frequented than it is at this day, and the motives of the journey are equally trade and religion, as they were formerly.

I SHALL here mention, that the Arabs begun very ſoon to ſtudy letters, and came to be very partial to their own language; Mahomet himſelf ſo much ſo, that he held out his Koran, for its elegance alone, as a greater miracle than that of raiſing the dead. This was not univerſally allowed at that time; as there were even then compoſitions ſuppoſed to equal, if not to ſurpaſs it. In my time, I have ſeen in Britain a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm for this book in preference to all others, not inferior to that which poſſeſſed Mahomet's followers. Modern unbelievers (Sale and his diſciples) have gone every length, but to ſay directly that it was dictated by the Spirit of God. Excepting the command in Geneſis chap. i. ver. 3. "And God ſaid, Let there be light; and there was light;" they defy us to ſhew in ſcripture a paſſage equal in ſublimity to many in the Koran. Following, without inquiring, what has been handed down from one to the other, they would cram us with abſurdities, which no man of ſenſe can ſwallow. They ſay the Koran is compoſed in a ſtyle the moſt pure, and chaſte, and that the tribe of Beni Koreiſh was the moſt polite, learned, and noble of all the Arabs.

BUT to this I anſwer—The Beni Koreiſh were from the earlieſt days, according to their own * account, part eſtabliſhed at Mecca, and part as robbers on the ſea-coaſt, and they were all children of Iſhmael. Whence then came their learning, or their ſuperior nobility? Was it found in the deſert, in the temple, or did the robbers bring it from the ſea? Soiouthy, one of thoſe moſt famous then for

* El Hamceſy.

knowledge in the Arabic, has quoted from the Koran many hundred words, either Abyſſinian, Indian, Perſian, Ethiopic, Syrian, Hebrew, or Chaldaic, which he brings back to the root, and aſcribes them to the nation they came from. Indeed it could not be otherwiſe; theſe caravans, continually crowding with their trade to Mecca, muſt have vitiated the original tongue by an introduction of new terms and new idioms, into a language labouring under a penury of vocabules. But ſhall any one for this perſuade me, that a book is a model of pure, elegant, chaſte Engliſh, in which there ſhall be a thouſand words of Welſh, Iriſh, Gaelic, French, Spaniſh, Malabar Mexican, and Laponian? What would be thought of ſuch a medley? or, at leaſt, could it be recommended as a pattern for writing pure Engliſh?

What I ſay of the Koran may be applied to the language of Arabia in general: when it is called a copious language, and profeſſors wiſely tell you, that there are ſix hundred words for a ſword, two hundred for honey, and three hundred that ſignify a lion, ſtill I muſt obſerve, that this is not a copious language, but a confuſion of languages: theſe, inſtead of diſtinct names, are only different epithets. For example, a lion in Engliſh may be called a young lion, a white lion, a ſmall lion, a big lion: I ſtyle him moreover the fierce, the cruel, the enemy to man, the beaſt of the deſert, the king of beaſts, the lover of blood. Thus it is in Arabic; and yet it is ſaid that all theſe are words for a lion. Take another example in a ſword; the cutter, the divider, the friend of man, the maſter of towns, the maker of widows, the ſharp, the ſtraight, the crooked; which may be ſaid in Engliſh as well as in Arabic.

The

The Arabs were a people who lived in a country, for the moſt part, deſert; their dwellings were tents, and their principal occupation feeding and breeding cattle, and they married with their own family. The language therefore of ſuch a people ſhould be very poor; there is no variety of images in their whole country. They were always bad poets, as their works will teſtify; and if, contrary to the general rule, the language of Arabia Deſerta became a copious one, it muſt have been by the mixture of ſo many nations meeting and trading at Mecca. It muſt, at the ſame time, have been the moſt corrupt, where there was the greateſt concourſe of ſtrangers, and this was certainly among the Beni Koreiſh at the Caba. When, therefore, I hear people praiſing the Koran for the purity of its ſtyle, it puts me in mind of the old man in the comedy, whoſe reaſon for loving his nephew was, that he could read Greek; and being aſked if he underſtood the Greek ſo read, he anſwered, Not a word of it, but the rumbling of the ſound pleaſed him.

The war that had diſtracted all Arabia, firſt between the Greeks and Perſians, then between Mahomet and the Arabs, in ſupport of his divine miſſion, had very much hurt the trade carried on by univerſal conſent at the Temple of Mecca. Caravans, when they dared venture out, were ſurpriſed upon every road, by the partizans of one ſide or the other. Both merchants and trade had taken their departure to the ſouthward, and eſtabliſhed themſelves ſouth of the Arabian Gulf, in places which (in ancient times) had been the markets for commerce, and the rendezvous of merchants. Azab, or Saba, was rebuilt; alſo Raheeta, Zeyla, Tajoura, Soomaal, in the Arabian Gulf, and a number of other towns on the Indian Ocean. The conqueſt of the Abyſſinian territories in

Arabia forced all thoſe that yet remained to take refuge on the African ſide, in the little diſtricts which now grew into conſideration. Adel, Mara, Hadea, Auſſa, Wypo, Tarſhiſh, and a number of other ſtates, now aſſumed the name of kingdoms, and ſoon obtained power and wealth ſuperior to many older ones.

The Governor of Yemen (or Najaſhi) converted now to the faith of Mahomet, retired to the African ſide of the Gulf. His government, long ago, having been ſhaken to the very foundation by the Arabian war, was at laſt totally deſtroyed. But the Indian trade at Adel wore a face of proſperity, that had the features of ancient times.

Without taking notice of every objection, and anſwering it, which has too polemical an appearance for a work of this kind, I hope I have removed the greateſt part of the reader's difficulties, which have, for a long time, lain in the way, towards his underſtanding this part of the hiſtory. There is one, however, remains, which the Arabian hiſtorians have mentioned, viz. that this Najaſhi, who embraced the faith of Mahomet, was avowedly of the royal family of Abyſſinia. To this I anſwer, he certainly was a perſon of that rank, and was undoubtedly a nobleman, as there is no nobility in that country but from relationſhip to the king; and no perſon can be related to the king by the male line. But the females, even the daughters of thoſe princes who are baniſhed to the mountain, marry whom they pleaſe; and all the deſcendents of that marriage become noble, becauſe they muſt be allied to the king. So far then they may truly aſſert, that the Mahometan Governor of Yemen, and his poſterity, were this way related to the king of Abyſſinia.

But

But the ſuppoſition that any heirs male of this family became muſſulmen, is, beyond any ſort of doubt, without foundation or probability.

Omar, after ſubduing Egypt, deſtroyed the valuable library at Alexandria, but his ſucceſſors thought very differently from him in the article of profane learning. Greek books of all kinds (eſpecially thoſe of Geometry, Aſtronomy, and Medicine,) were ſearched for every where and tranſlated. Sciences flouriſhed and were encouraged. Trade at the ſame time kept pace, and increaſed with knowledge. Geography and aſtronomy were every where diligently ſtudied and ſolidly applied to make the voyages of men from place to place ſafe and expeditious. The Jews (conſtant ſervants of the Arabs) imbibed a conſiderable ſhare of their taſte for earning.

They had, at this time, increaſed very much in number. By the violence of the Mahometan conqueſts in Arabia and Egypt, where their ſect did principally prevail, they became very powerful in Abyſſinia. Arianiſm, and all the various hereſies that diſtracted the Greek church, were received there in their turn from Egypt; the bonds of Chriſtianity were diſſolved, and people in general were much more willing to favour a new religion, than to agree with, or countenance any particular one of their own, if it differed from that which they adopted in the mereſt trifle. This had deſtroyed their metropolis in Egypt, juſt now delivered up to the Saracens; and the diſpoſition of the Abyſſinians ſeemed ſo very much to reſemble their brethren the Cophts, that a revolution in favour of Judaiſm was thought full as feaſible in the country, as it had been in Egypt in favour

of the newly-preached, but unequivocal religion of Mahomet.

An independent ſovereignty, in one family of Jews, had always been preſerved on the mountain of Samen, and the royal reſidence was upon a high-pointed rock, called the Jews Rock: Several other inacceſſible mountains ſerved as natural fortreſſes for this people, now grown very conſiderable by frequent acceſſions of ſtrength from Paleſtine and Arabia, whence the Jews had been expelled. Gideon and Judith were then king and queen of the Jews, and their daughter Judith (whom in Amhara they call *Eſther*, and ſometimes *Saat*, i. e. *fire* *,) was a woman of great beauty, and talents for intrigue; had been married to the governor of a ſmall diſtrict called Bugna, in the neighbourhood of Laſta, both which countries were likewiſe much infected with Judaiſm.

Judith had made ſo ſtrong a party, that ſhe reſolved to attempt the ſubverſion of the Chriſtian religion, and, with it, the ſucceſſion in the line of Solomon. The children of the royal family were at this time, in virtue of the old law, confined on the almoſt inacceſſible mountain of Damo in Tigrè. The ſhort reign, ſudden and unexpected death of the late king Aizor, and the deſolation and contagion which an epidemical diſeaſe had ſpread both in court and capital, the weak ſtate of Del Naad who was to ſucceed Aizor and was an infant; all theſe circumſtances together, impreſſed Judith with an idea that now was the time to place her family upon the throne, and eſtabliſh her religion by the extirpation

* She is alſo called by Victor, *Tredda Gabez*.

extirpation of the race of Solomon. Accordingly ſhe ſurpriſed the rock Damo, and ſlew the whole princes there, to the number, it is ſaid, of about 400.

Some nobles of Amhara, upon the firſt news of the cataſtrophe at Damo, conveyed the infant king Del Naad, now the only remaining prince of his race, into the powerful and loyal province of Shoa, and by this means the royal family was preſerved to be again reſtored. Judith took poſſeſſion of the throne in defiance of the law of the queen of Saba, by this the firſt interruption of the ſucceſſion in the line of Solomon, and, contrary to what might have been expected from the violent means ſhe had uſed to acquire the crown, ſhe not only enjoyed it herſelf during a long reign of 40 years, but tranſmitted it alſo to five of her poſterity, all of them barbarous names, originating probably in Laſta: Theſe are ſaid to be,

Totadem,
Jan Shum,
Garima Shum,
Harbai,
Marari.

Authors, as well Abyſſinian as European, have differed widely about the duration of theſe reigns. All that the Abyſſinians are agreed upon is, that this whole period was one ſcene of murder, violence, and oppreſſion.

Judith and her deſcendents were ſucceeded by relations of their own, a noble family of Laſta. The hiſtory of this revolution, or cauſe of it, are loſt and unknown in the country, and therefore vainly ſought after elſewhere. What we

know is, that with them the court returned to the Chriſtian religion, and that they were ſtill as different from their predeceſſors in manners as in religion. Though uſurpers, as were the others, their names are preſerved with every mark of reſpect and veneration. They are,

Tecla Haimanout,
Kedus Harbé,
Itibarek,
Lalibala,
Imeranha Chriſtos,
Naacueto Laab.

Not being kings of the line of Solomon, no part of their hiſtory is recorded in the annals, unleſs that of Lalibala, who lived in the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century, and was a ſaint. The whole period of the uſurpation, comprehending the long reign of Judith, will by this account be a little more than 300 years, in which time eleven princes are ſaid to have ſat upon the throne of Solomon, ſo that, ſuppoſing her death to have been in the year 1000, each of theſe princes, at an average, will have been a little more than twenty-four years, and this is too much. But all this period is involved in darkneſs. We might gueſs, but ſince we are not able to do more, it anſwers no good purpoſe to do ſo much. I have followed the hiſtories and traditions which are thought the moſt authentic in the country, the ſubject of which they treat, and where I found them; and though they may differ from other accounts given by European authors, this does not influence me, as I know that none of theſe authors could have any other authorities than thoſe I have ſeen, and the difference only muſt

muſt be the fruit of idle imagination, and ill-founded conjectures of their own.

In the reign of Lalibala, near about the 1200, there was a great perſecution in Egypt againſt the Chriſtians, after the Saracen conqueſt, and eſpecially againſt the maſons, builders, and hewers of ſtone, who were looked upon by the Arabs as the greateſt of abominations; this prince opened an aſylum in his dominions to all fugitives of that kind, of whom he collected a prodigious number. Having before him as ſpecimens the ancient works of the Troglodytes, he directed a number of churches to be hewn out of the ſolid rock in his native country of Laſta, where they remain untouched to this day, and where they will probably continue till the lateſt poſterity. Large columns within are formed out of the ſolid rock, and every ſpecies of ornament preſerved, that would have been executed in buildings of ſeparate and detached ſtones, above ground.

This prince undertook to realize the favourite pretenſions of the Abyſſinians, to the power of turning the Nile out of its courſe, ſo that it ſhould no longer be the cauſe of the fertility of Egypt, now in poſſeſſion of the enemies of his religion. We may imagine, if it was in the power of man to accompliſh this undertaking, it could have fallen into no better hands than thoſe to whom Lalibala gave the execution of it; people driven from their native country by thoſe Saracens who now were reaping the benefits of the river, in the places of thoſe they had forced to ſeek habitations far from the benefit and pleaſure afforded by its ſtream.

This prince did not adopt the wild idea of turning the courſe of the Nile out of its preſent channel; upon the poſſibility or impoſſibility of which, the argument (ſo warmly and ſo long agitated) always moſt improperly turns. His idea was to famiſh Egypt: and, as the fertility of that country depends not upon the ordinary ſtream, but the extraordinary increaſe of it by the tropical rains, he is ſaid to have found, by an exact ſurvey and calculation, that there ran on the ſummit, or higheſt part of the country, ſeveral rivers which could be intercepted by mines, and their ſtream directed into the low country ſouthward, inſtead of joining the Nile, augmenting it and running northward. By this he found he ſhould be able ſo to diſappoint its increaſe, that it never would riſe to a height proper to fit Egypt for cultivation. And thus far he was warranted in his ideas of ſucceeding (as I have been informed by the people of that country), that he did interſect and carry into the Indian Ocean, two very large rivers, which have ever ſince flowed that way, and he was carrying a level to the lake Zawaia, where many rivers empty themſelves in the beginning of the rains, which would have effectually diverted the courſe of them all, and could not but in ſome degree diminiſh the current below.

Death, the ordinary enemy of all theſe ſtupendous Herculean undertakings, interpoſed too here, and put a ſtop to this enterprize of Lalibala. But Amha Yaſous, prince of Shoa (in whoſe country part of theſe immenſe works were), a young man of great underſtanding, and with whom I lived ſeveral months in the moſt intimate friendſhip at Gondar, aſſured me that they were viſible to this day; and that they were of a kind whoſe uſe could not be miſtaken; that he

he himſelf had often viſited them, and was convinced the undertaking was very poſſible with ſuch hands, and in the circumſtances things then were. He told me likewiſe, that, in a written account which he had ſeen in Shoa, it was ſaid that this prince was not interrupted by death in his undertaking, but perſuaded by the monks, that if a greater quantity of water was let down into the dry kingdoms of Hadea, Mara, and Adel, increaſing in population every day, and, even now, almoſt equal in power to Abyſſinia itſelf, theſe barren kingdoms would become the garden of the world; and ſuch a number of Saracens, diſlodged from Egypt by the firſt appearance of the Nile's failing, would fly thither: that they would not only withdraw thoſe countries from their obedience, but be ſtrong enough to over-run the whole kingdom of Abyſſinia. Upon this, as Amha Yaſous informed me, Lalibala gave over his firſt ſcheme, which was the famiſhing of Egypt; and that his next was employing the men in ſubterraneous churches; a uſeleſs expence, but more level to the underſtanding of common men than the former.

Don Roderigo de Lima, ambaſſador from the king of Portugal, in 1522 ſaw the remains of theſe vaſt works, and travelled in them ſeveral days, as we learn from Alvarez. the chaplain and hiſtorian of that embaſſy*, which we ſhall take notice of in its proper place.

Lalibala was diſtinguiſhed both as a poet and an orator. The old fable, of a ſwarm of bees hanging to his lips

* See Alvarez, his relation of this Embaſſy.

in the cradle, is revived and applied to him as foretelling the ſweetneſs of his elocution.

To Lalibala ſucceeded Imeranha Chriſtos, remarkable for nothing but being ſon of ſuch a father as Lalibala, and father to ſuch a ſon as Naacueto Laab; both of them diſtinguiſhed for works very extraordinary, though very different in their kind. The firſt, that is thoſe of the father we have already hinted at, conſiſting in great mechanical undertakings. The other was an operation of the mind, of ſtill more difficult nature, a victory over ambition, the voluntary abdication of a crown to which he ſucceeded without imputation of any crime.

Tecla Haimanout, a monk and native of Abyſſinia, had been ordained Abuna, and had founded the famous monaſtery of Debra Libanos in Shoa. He was a man at once celebrated for the ſanctity of his life, the goodneſs of his underſtanding, and love to his country; and, by an extraordinary influence, obtained over the reigning king Naacueto Laab, he perſuaded him, for conſcience ſake, to reſign a crown, which (however it might be ſaid with truth, that he received it from his father) could never be purged from the ſtain and crime of uſurpation.

In all this time, the line of Solomon had been continued from Del Naad, who, we have ſeen, had eſcaped from the maſſacre of Damo, under Judith. Content with poſſeſſing the loyal province of Shoa, they continued their royal reſidence there, without having made one attempt, as far as hiſtory tells us, towards recovering their ancient kingdom.

RACE

RACE OF SOLOMON BANISHED, BUT REIGNING IN SHOA.

Del Naad,
Mahaber Wedem,
Igba Sion,
Tzenaf Araad,
Nagaſh Zaré,
Asfeha,
Jacob,
Bahar Segued,
Adamas Segued,
Icon Amlac.

NAACUETO LAAB, of the houſe of Zaguè, was, it ſeems, a juſt and peaceable prince.

UNDER the mediation of Abuna Tecla Haimanout, a treaty was made between him and Icon Amlac conſiſting of four articles, all very extraordinary in their kind.

THE firſt was, that Naacueto Laab, prince of the houſe of Zaguè, ſhould forthwith reſign the kingdom of Abyſſinia to Icon Amlac, reigning prince of the line of Solomon then in Shoa.

THE ſecond, that a portion of lands in Laſta ſhould be given to Naacueto Laab and his heirs in abſolute property, irrevocably and irredeemably; that he ſhould preſerve, as marks of ſovereignty, two ſilver kettle-drums, or nagareets; that the points of the ſpears of his guard, the globes that ſurmounted his ſendeck, (that is the pole upon which the

colours are carried), ſhould be ſilver, and that he ſhould ſit upon a gold ſtool, or chair, in form of that uſed by the kings of Abyſſinia; and that both he and his deſcendents ſhould be abſolutely free from all homage, ſervices, taxes, or public burdens for ever, and ſtiled Kings of *Z*aguè, or the Laſta king.

The third article was, That one third of the kingdom ſhould be appropriated and ceded abſolutely to the Abuna himſelf, for the maintenance of his own ſtate, and ſupport of the clergy, convents, and churches in the kingdom; and this became afterwards an æra, or epoch, in Abyſſinian hiſtory, called the æra of partition.

The fourth, and laſt article, provided, that no native Abyſſinian could thereafter be choſen Abuna, and this even tho' he was ordained at, and ſent from Cairo. In virtue of this treaty, concluded and ſolemnly ſworn to, Icon Amlac took poſſeſſion of his throne, and the other contracting parties of the proviſions reſpectively allotted them.

The part of the treaty that ſhould appear moſt liable to be broken was that which erected a kingdom within a kingdom. However, it is one of the remarkable facts in the annals of this country, that the article between Icon Amlac and the houſe of Zaguè was obſerved for near 500 years; for it was made before the year 1300, and never was broken, but by the treacherous murder of the Zaguean prince by Allo Faſil in the unfortunate war of Begemder, in the reign of Joas 1768, the year before I arrived in Abyſſinia; neither has any Abuna native of Abyſſinia ever been known ſince that period. As for the exorbitant grant of one third

third of the kingdom to the Abuna, it has been in great meaſure reſumed, as we may naturally ſuppoſe, upon different pretences of miſbehaviour, true or alledged, by the king or his miniſters, the firſt great invaſion of it being in the ſubſequent reign of king Theodorus, who, far from loſing popularity by this infraction, has been ever reckoned a model for ſovereigns.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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